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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KUNAYEV REPORT TO KAZAKH CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 86 pp 1-3

[Article: "The Tasks of the Republic Party Organization in Implementing the 19 August 1986 CPSU Central Committee Decree Entitled 'The Work of KaSSR Party, Soviet, and Economic Agencies in Carrying out the Food Program Assignments and Guaranteeing the Accelerated and Steady Development of Animal Husbandry': Report by CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary D. A. Kunayev". Report printed in summarized form.]

[Text] Comrades!

On 19 August 1986 the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat thoroughly reviewed the work of the Kazakh party, soviet, and economic agencies in fulfilling the Food Program assignments and guaranteeing the accelerated and steady development of animal husbandry.

The decree enacted on this question has been published in the press.

The CPSU Central Committee has evaluated our activity in the field of animal husbandry harshly but justly, and with party objectivity.

Proceeding from party's high requirements, which are the keynote requirements for our republic, today at the Central Committee plenum we must soberly and critically examine the state of affairs in the branch, must reveal the reasons for the shortcomings and miscalculations that led to the failure to fulfill the established Food Program assignments, and must develop effective measures to fulfill them unconditionally.

All this will require a more thorough analysis of the questions of the development of animal husbandry at the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro, the KaSSR Council of Ministers Presidium, the obkoms, raykoms, and ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies, at the primary party organizations on sovkhoses and kolkhoses, and in all structural subdivisions of KaSSR Gosagroprom [State Agroindustry].

It is necessary here for us to be self-critical and to make demands, first of all, upon ourselves.

In recent years the Kazakh CP Central Committee and the KaSSR Council of Ministers enacted a number of decrees aimed at developing animal husbandry. However, because of the lessening of control, the insufficient exactingness toward the administrators of the party, soviet, and economic agencies, and the uncritical evaluation of the state of affairs in animal husbandry, many of them remain unfulfilled.

The not always efficient approach to the resolution of the key problems in animal husbandry, including the approach taken by the Central Committee and the KaSSR Council of Ministers, made it impossible to use completely the tremendous production potential that had been created in the branch or to activate promptly the accumulated reserves for its accelerated and steady development.

In the CPSU Central Committee decree, these and other lessons of the past and the blunders in our work were pointed out completely correctly and we are obliged to make the appropriate conclusions from them.

In the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, in the statements made by the CPSU Central Committee's General Secretary, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, and in the Central Committee Secretariat's decree dealing with our report, the main paths have been indicated for the development of animal husbandry.

These paths are the accelerated conversion of the branch to intensified methods; the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress and modern technological schemes; the sharp reinforcement of the fodder base; the taking of all steps to increase livestock productivity; the expansion of bases for the storage and processing of output; and the effective use of the created potential.

It is only by means of intensification, on the basis of a state approach to the resolution of the current and long-range tasks, that the republic can fulfill the assignments of the five-year plan and make an ever-increasing contribution to the country's food resources.

And those tasks are large and responsible ones.

By the end of the five-year plan Kazakhstan is supposed to increase the gross production of grain to 30-31 million tons; meat (in slaughtered weight) to 1.4-1.5 million tons; milk to 5.4-5.5 million tons; and eggs to 4.2-4.3 billion.

Obviously, tasks of this scope, as the Central Committee points out, can be resolved only by relying upon the creativity of the sovkhos workers and kolkhoz members and upon their selfless labor, by improving the organizing and political work among the animal husbandrymen. It is necessary to increase the role of the human factor, to create in the collectives an atmosphere of exactingness and demandingness, and to reject completely any unsuitable practice or any management methods that have not justified themselves.

The chief thing now is to raise the level of party guidance of the economics of agricultural production and to carry out a tremendous series of operations involving the social reorganization of the rural area.

In the resolution of these fundamental tasks, a noticeable and increasing contribution must be made by absolutely all 19 oblasts in Kazakhstan. Unfortunately, many of them have lost the positions that were won, and are pulling the republic back.

Then D. A. Kunayev remarked that in North Kazakhstan Oblast the fixed production assets in the branch in the past five-year plan increased by more than 36 percent, but the gross output of the animal farms decreased by 5 percent. The shortfall in shipments to the state amounted to more than 44,000 tons of livestock and poultry and almost 10,000 tons of milk. The targets for shipments of meat to the nationwide fund were not met, productivity decreased, and qualitative indicators dropped. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the oblast had a sharp slump (spad) and produced a quantity of output that was below the level of the previous five-year plan.

This is graphic testimony of the fact that the work of the North Kazakhstan Obkom and its first secretary, Comrade Stepava, in this sector is being carried out unsatisfactorily and does not correspond to the spirit of the time.

In Turgay Oblast (Comrades Kuanyshev and Zaritskiy) during the past three years (1983-1985), even after the increase in the purchase prices, the sovkhoses had animal-husbandry losses amounting to tens of millions of rubles, including losses from animal deaths and unproductive expenditures for the maintenance of barren cows. This does not attest to the improvement of the party guidance of the branch or about an economical attitude toward the nation's wealth.

Examples of the low repayment rate on expenditures can be cited for other branches in the republic. But it is not just a matter of examples. It should be obvious to all of us that we can no longer manage animal husbandry this way. The government's lavishness has created a dependent attitude among certain individuals. And we cannot make any rapid movement ahead until we have achieved a fundamental shift in the thinking processes and psychology of all our cadres. The party agencies must give a critical evaluation of any manifestations of self-praise, of embellishing achieved results, or of ostentatiousness or sensationalism.

Despite the numerous decisions, the republic has been unable to get rid of the serious shortcomings in reproducing the herd, especially cattle. Last year, for the republic as a whole, 100 cows produced only 67 calves. Computation indicates that this resulted in the underproduction of 750,000 calves.

In Kzyl-Orda Oblast the percentage of cows in the herd remained at the 1976 level. Last year there were more than 24,000 barren cows and heifers here.

The republic is being pulled back because of the exceptionally low increase in the number of calves (from 30 to 60) on many sovkhoses and kolkhoses in

Guryev, Dzhezkazgan, Turgay, Dzhambul, and Semipalatinsk oblasts. It is not by accident that a number of farms in these oblasts failed to fulfill the plan for sale of meat and milk to the state and suffered tremendous losses.

In sheep-breeding, at first glance, the situation regarding herd reproduction appears to be somewhat better. This year the sovkhoses and kolkhoses produced 16 million lambs, or a million more than last year. The number of young produced per 100 ewes was 92 lambs, or three more than called for by the plan and nine more than last year's level.

However, we cannot be satisfied today with the intermediate results. Those average indicators hide major areas of unfinished work on many farms. For example, in 1985 the farms in East Kazakhstan Oblast produced 62 lambs each, and in Kurchumskiy Rayon, 41 each. One asks why a party obkom or raykom is unable to evaluate critically the situation that has developed.

Such low indicators, in turn, lead to a considerable worsening of the herd structure. As is well known, the share of ewes in it must be 60-65 percent; however, on many farms that share does not yet exceed 40-45 percent. And yet, if the optimal structure prevails, the republic can have 7 million additional ewes with the same amounts of fodder and the same facilities.

These indicators for the reproduction of cattle and sheep graphically prove that, in our activity, we have had serious shortcomings and have not been using the tremendous reserves for increasing the number of head of livestock or for creating a better base for increasing meat production.

Comrades! The chief concern of the republic party organization must be the accelerated buildup of meat resources by delivering only fully-grown cattle, and this is the decisive source for fulfilling the Food Program assignments.

However, the shortcomings in the fattening of livestock, and chiefly of cattle, the share of which in meat production is 50 percent, continue to be unsurmounted. What kind of fattening can one discuss in Seletinskiy Rayon, Tselinograd Oblast, if the average weight per head of cattle that was delivered to the meat-processing plant last year scarcely reached 309 kilograms, and their average age was 55 months?

Or take the special farms which were created for those purposes. Most of them have not been coping with the assigned tasks. Last year, for example, in the special-farm associations in Semipalatinsk Oblast the average daily weight increase in livestock fattening was only 246 grams, and the delivery weight of the livestock was 283 kilograms.

As a consequence of this kind of unsatisfactory management, during the past five years the republic's underproduction, as compared with the Food Program assignment, was 470,000 tons of meat (in slaughtered weight). As a result, the plan for meat shipments to the state was not fulfilled. Almost 59,000 tons of meat failed to be shipped to the country by farms in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast; more than 42,000 tons, in Kustanay Oblast; and more than 32,000 tons, in Tselinograd and Dzhambul oblasts. Other oblasts did not take any noticeable step forward either. For this reason the republic failed to ship

265,000 tons of meat to the nationwide fund. This situation is not a random phenomenon, and the reasons for the failure should be sought, as was noted at the session of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, in the production management style and methods and in the poor use of the existing capabilities.

For example, 17 percent of the total number of meat livestock is concentrated in Ural Oblast. Beef can be produced, as the expression goes, to order. But what is actually the case? The party's obkom and the oblispolkom have finally reconciled themselves to phenomena of stagnation in animal husbandry, and do not strive for the execution of the decisions that are made. The branch is being run by the extensive method.

For 15 years that oblast has failed to fulfill the plans for meat production and sales. In the 9th Five-Year Plan almost 30,000 tons of meat failed to be shipped; in the 10th, 71,000 tons; and in the 11th, 78,000 tons. The delivery weight of the animals in 1985 dropped to 338 kilograms. Only one-third of the number of head of cattle were sold in the highest category of fatness. Thus, the oblast which at one time was a leader in livestock breeding for meat and which was cited as an example for all the others has lost its previous positions.

From all this Comrades Iskaliyev and Usov should make conclusions that adhere to party principles.

And yet in that same Ural Oblast, on the Sovkhoz imeni PRAVDA, rather good results are being achieved. That sovkhos annually produces as much as 1,800,000 tons of high-grade inexpensive beef. The farm's profitability is 80 percent, and the annual profit is approximately one million rubles.

Unfortunately, the experience of these advanced farms is not being disseminated broadly.

It is only by mismanagement that one can explain the fact that during the past ten years there has been a considerable reduction in the number of livestock in the meat breeds in Tselinograd, Semipalatinsk, and other oblasts.

What is even worse is that in Guryev, Karaganda, and East Kazakhstan oblasts many sovkhoses specializing in the breeding of meat livestock have been turned into multibranch sovkhoses. The meat-producing cows are milked in order to obtain milk for sale, which does not even compensate for the expenditures to pay for the labor performed by the milkmaids. Even the pedigree stock farms are hampered by the milk production plans. It is impermissible to run a business like this.

The party obkoms, in conformity with the directives of the CPSU Central Committee, must urgently orient the party and economic cadres toward taking a more thorough approach to the management of livestock breeding for meat production. A considerable number of the country's meat livestock is concentrated in the republic. This requires us to use all our efforts to fight for the highest productivity of that livestock and to strive for an average daily weight increase of 800-1000 grams in animals being fattened. As for the animals' weight specifications, our task here continues to remain

unchanged -- the livestock arriving at the meat-processing plants must weigh 450 kilograms or more.

Sheep-breeding takes on special importance under the conditions that have been created. One-fourth of our country's sheep are concentrated in Kazakhstan. In the nationwide balance sheet, the republic's share is a considerable volume of the procurements of mutton, more than one-third of karakul, and approximately one-fourth of wool. However, because of the low effectiveness of running the branch, the country has large shortfalls of output from the republic. During the last five-year plan, mutton production, as compared with the 9th Five-Year Plan, dropped by 129,000 tons. The quality of the output has worsened.

As long ago as the 1960's the republic's sheep-breeding was profitable, but now it chronically operates at a loss. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers issued a decree entitled "Measures for Developing Sheep-Breeding in Kazakh SSR" was not fulfilled.

It must be stated outright that the very rich opportunities in sheep-breeding are not being used properly. Such important sheep-breeding oblasts as Alma-Ata, Pavlodar, Dzhezkazgan, Dzhambul, and Chirchik oblasts have reduced the number of head of sheep as compared with the number that had previously been achieved, and deliver them with a low weight. Many farms here ignore the specific directives that have been repeatedly advanced at our plenums -- to deliver sheep everywhere with a weight no less than 40 kilograms. In the oblasts that have been mentioned, the advanced experience of the best animal husbandrymen has been consigned to oblivion.

Semipalatinsk Obkom and oblispolkom have not been guaranteeing the precise fulfillment of the program. The obkom at one time enacted a good decree dealing with sheep-breeding, but soon it forgot about it. The number of sheep in the oblast not only has not increased, but has even decreased. The oblast chronically has been lagging behind on the whole in the development of animal husbandry. As compared with the 9th Five-Year Plan the meat production here has decreased by 9 percent and wool by 2 percent; there has been a reduction in the delivery weight of the animals; and there has been a drop in the productivity of the cows. All this has been leading to large losses.

Comrades Kubashev and Yermenko have not yet drawn the necessary conclusions from the repeated criticism.

The situation in Kokchetav Oblast (Comrade Sagdiyev) has not been improving. In that oblast, in a major sheep-breeding rayon -- Valikhanovskiy Rayon -- the number of head of sheep during the past five-year plan decreased by 60,000. The number of animal deaths has been large. In the branch as a whole, the losses have amounted to millions. We can no longer tolerate this situation in the development of our traditional and, I might say, prestigious branch.

In a word, comrades, in order to develop sheep-breeding we will have to resolve a number of questions. For the rapid increase in the number of head of livestock, as we have already said, it is necessary to increase the share of ewes in the flocks to 65 percent and to obtain annually one lamb per ewe.

In addition to the development of fine-fleeced and semifine-fleeced sheep-breeding in the western and central oblasts it will be necessary to devote attention to the raising of breeds of sheep for meat and tallow production and to achieve qualitative shifts in the raising of karakul sheep and of goats for their hair.

Nor can we resolve the meat problem without such a rapidly maturing industry as hog-breeding. Here too, however, not all the reserves have been put into action. For example, in terms of one structural head we produce only 70 kilograms of pork, or 8 kilograms less than the country for a whole. There has been an unfounded reduction in the number of farms producing pork, as the Central Committee pointed out to us with complete justification. Whereas there were 885 of them in 1971, last year there were only 708, and on certain farms in the republic the number of head of hogs has been reduced by almost one-half, and this has had a substantial effect upon meat production.

Here the task consists not in reducing, but in increasing, the number of head of hogs, especially in the grain-growing oblasts, and in re-establishing the closed animal farms and achieving a noticeable increase in pork production.

It is also necessary to correct the situation in herd-type horse-breeding and in camel-breeding. In a number of places the course taken has been to close down these branches. The herds have been reduced by 10,000 horses in Dzhezkazgan Oblast and by 9000 in Pavlodar Oblast.

It is necessary for us to improve the pedigree work and reproduction of the number of head of horses and camels and to increase the percentage of meat and dairy-product procurements.

In poultry-raising it is necessary, at accelerated rates, to engage not only in the growing of chickens and ducks, but also the breeding of geese and turkeys in order to produce no less than 12-15 kilograms of poultry meat per inhabitant. At the present time, however, approximately 10 kilograms are produced. KaSSR Gosagroprom must intensify its monitoring of the construction of broiler factories in Ekibastuz and Guryev and the turkey-breeding factory in Dzhezkazgan.

Comrades! We will have to do a lot this year to intensify dairy livestock breeding. Today Kazakhstan occupies fourth place among the republic with regard to milk purchases, but last place in the union with regard to effectiveness.

We have a total of five sovkhoses where the milk yields last year exceeded 4000 kilograms. But the other farms, one might say, have been marking time or yielding the positions that were previously won.

If one speaks more concretely, more than half the sovkhoses and kolkhozes have not achieved the 2000 goal. This is typical of almost all the oblasts in Kazakhstan.

As the decision by the Central Committee Secretariat requires, we must concentrate our attention on increasing the productive dairy herd. The task

assigned is to assure that, during the five-year period, we will increase the milk yield per cow by no less than 400-450 kilograms and bring it up to an average of 2300-2400 kilograms for the republic as a whole, to 3500-4000 kilograms in the suburban and industrial zones, and to improve the quality of output.

At one time a decree was issued to deal with this question, but it is not being fulfilled by most of the oblasts.

In order to achieve the goals that have been set, it will be necessary to take more energetic steps to introduce industrial technological schemes and the shop-flow system of milk production into dairy livestock breeding. Much is being said about this system, but, unfortunately, little is being done. Certain comrades attempt to cover over their inaction by giving various reasons. We must give a well-principled evaluation to this kind of attitude.

Many of our shortcomings in developing the branch are explained by poor pedigree work. In Kazakhstan only one-third of the cattle herd is categorized as pure-blooded. That is an extremely small number. The existing network of pedigree stock farms has been operating poorly and has not been coping with the tasks. And instead of managing this work properly, the administrators in individual oblasts annually raise questions about increasing the number of young replacement animals being brought in from outside the confines of the republic.

Three decades ago meat-type livestock on the Saint Gertrude breed were brought into our republic at great expense. But the former KaSSR MinSelkhoz [Ministry of Agriculture] and the Eastern Branch of VASKhNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin] simply allowed that matter to go to rack and ruin. The same situation is occurring with the Galloway breed.

Pedigree cattle valued at 11 million rubles was brought into Kzyl-Orda Oblast. However, as a consequence of the poor care and maintenance, most of it died or was slaughtered and sold for meat. In five rayons out of eight, the economic activity in animal husbandry last year ended with a loss of 12 million rubles.

In our opinion, we must not underestimate our own Kazakhstan breeds of livestock that produce remarkable results.

The purpose of the existing pedigree livestock farms is to supplement the commercial animal farms with highly productive livestock, to engage better in selection among and within the breeds, and to introduce cross-breeding on a broader scale. The party agencies must take the activity of the pedigree livestock farms under their special supervision.

A large amount of economic damage is inflicted on animal husbandry by infectious diseases. Because the livestock are infected with tuberculosis and brucellosis, the labor of a vast army of workers on the animals farms in our republic is frequently nullified. The losses of output are computed in the millions of rubles. Therefore the improvement of the herd's health is a problem which, as was noted at the Central Committee Secretariat, is not only an economic, but also a social one.

However, this work has been conducted in an extremely unsatisfactory manner. An especially difficult situation is continuing in Kustanay Oblast. The number of sick livestock there has recently increased by a factor of 1.5, as a consequence of which more than 52 percent of milk delivered to the state during the five-year plan was substandard. Many animals have been sent to the livestock burial grounds or have been processed for salvage purposes. What is especially alarming is that there has been an increase in the number of diseases among the animal husbandrymen in the oblast. A similar situation prevails in North Kazakhstan, Kokchetav, Tselinograd, Turgay, Karaganda, and other oblasts. Most of the farms there completely ignore the strict requirements of the veterinary rules, which are the directive document in the zooveterinary service.

The practical experience that has been accumulated in a number of rayons in the republic with regard to improving the health conditions on the animal farms must be introduced more energetically, in order to put an end to the infections during the current five-year plan. Otherwise, comrades, we shall not achieve the necessary results.

Comrades! In the Central Committee's decree, our republic was completely correctly subjected to criticism for the unsatisfactory work of creating a firm fodder base. Despite the steps being taken, the resolution of the fodder problem in many oblasts has been prolonged inadmissibly. The lack of fodders has thrown us back several times. Fodder production on many farms has not yet been made an independent branch.

In order to resolve the fodder problem, the KaCP Central Committee and the KaSSR Council of Ministers have developed a comprehensive target program entitled "Fodders and Protein." Within the next few years the volume of fodder procurements will have to be increased to 55-58 million tons of fodder units. In other words, we must have, for the stall-maintenance period, per standard head of livestock no less than 22-24 quintals of fodder units. These figures must be viewed as the absolutely minimal ones.

In this regard the collective on each farm must set a precise task for itself -- the laying in of the necessary quantity of fodders during any year, and during a favorable year the creation of a 1.5-year fodder reserve. The fodders must be of high quality and must be well balanced for protein. Moreover, this should be done at by drawing on state resources, but by drawing on local ones.

In the current five-year plan, in order to increase fodder production, it is necessary to assimilate no less than 4 million hectares of solonchaks [dark strongly alkaline] soils, which will be an additional source of fodders. It will be necessary to carry out the planned large volume of operations to improve pastures, and to make broader use of the experience accumulated by the Zadarinskiy State Pedigree Livestock Farm in Chimkent Oblast in increasing the productivity of pastures, especially desert and semidesert pastures.

The CPSU Central Committee has required us to achieve a major turning point in fodder production and to eliminate the shortage of protein in the fodders. In

this regard, Gosagroprom, the party's obkoms, and the oblispolkoms should take bolder steps to change over to the replacement of middle- and late-maturing corn hybrids by early-maturing ones, thus making it possible to improve the silage quality considerably; to establish rigid controls on the fulfillment of the planned measures for expanding the irrigated areas of alfalfa, soy, rape, and other high-protein crops; to introduce order into the use of grain forage; and to put an end to the dependancy in this matter.

It is necessary to intensify the work of building fodder storage facilities, fodder shops, and other fodder-production structures. Otherwise we shall not resolve the assigned tasks in fodder production.

It will also be necessary to make a sharp improvement in the quality of combined fodders, providing the Ministry of Grain Products enterprises with the necessary quantity of vitamin-enriched grass meal and legume-crop grain. It is also necessary here to make the change from leveling complaints to another to establishing businesslike attitudes.

Currently, when we are entering the critical period of the mass harvesting of the output of vegetable husbandry, we must not lessen our attention to fodder procurements or to the preparation for the livestock wintering-over process. It is necessary, without any vacillation, in an innovative manner, to carry all the urgent autumn operations, and to increase the output of the animal farms during the forthcoming winter period.

The Central Committee Secretariat has obliged us to carry out a thorough analysis of the development of the subsidiary plots at industrial enterprises and organizations.

The best response to this will be the fulfillment of the republic's decree concerning meat production in subsidiary plots from 24,000 tons this year to 37,000 tons in 1990; and milk, from 18,000 to 31,000 tons. Every oblast must fulfill the assignments that have been set.

A task of no small importance is increasing the contribution made by the personal plots. During individual years the republic's population sold to the state resources more than 200,000 tons of livestock and a large quantity of milk.

As is required by the Secretariat decree, in this matter we must arrange the job in such a way that every family living in rural localities has its own livestock, provides itself with meat and milk, and sells the surplus to the state or through the kolkhoz market. It is necessary to improve the organizing of purchases of these products from the public. KaSSR Gosagroprom and its agencies in the outlying areas, as well as Kazpotrebsoyuz and the local Soviets of People's Deputies, must work well in this regard.

Fundamental improvement must be achieved in the processing and storage of output of animal husbandry. In many oblasts, questions of reinforcing the material-technical base of the processing enterprises and the development of their direct ties with the farms are not being resolved at the proper level.

For example, the Kazakh CP Central Committee and KaSSR Council of Ministers decree, for purposes of improving the supplying of the population in the city of Alma-Ata with food products, have stipulated the construction of new enterprises and the remodeling, expansion, and technical re-equipping of the existing enterprises in the dairy industry. However, out of six stipulated projects, only two were activated. For the others, the construction-planning operations are still being carried out and there has been a two to three-year slippage in the construction deadlines.

Therefore it is not accidental that the supplying of milk to the population in the capital has begun to worsen. You have probably noticed the recent broadcast by Kazakh Television that dealt with instances of egregious mismanagement, irresponsibility, and spoilage of the nation's wealth at the oblast's milk-receiving centers. Every day, especially on Saturdays and Sundays, hundreds of milk trucks stand idle in the burning sun for 5-6 hours in front of the gates of those milk-receiving centers, including the one at the Alma-Ata City Dairy Plant. The milk spoils and is simply dumped into the gutter. How are we supposed to understand that?

Because all this being done right in front of the obkom, oblispolkom, and KaSSR Gosagroprom management.

Major capital investments have been allocated for the current five-year plan for the development of processing enterprises. It will be necessary to increase the capacities and introduce order into the network of processing enterprises, especially the meat-processing plants and the city dairy plants, to accelerate the construction of vegetable storage facilities, and to improve the work of the procurement specialists. KaSSR Gosagroprom and the party obkoms must take these projects under special supervision.

Comrades! An important role in the intensification of animal husbandry belongs to agrarian science. Kazakhstan has at its disposal a broad network of scientific institutions and a large detachment of scientists. However, it must be said today that the scientific-research institutions of the Eastern Branch of VASKhNIL (Comrade Medeubekov) have been working with yielding the proper return. Their activity, as is well known, was critically analyzed at the Buro of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

The Kazakh Scientific-Research Institute of Sheep-Breeding, at its experimental farm last year, introduced an industrial method of fattening the sheep. But what was the result? Out of almost 2000 head that were turned over to the state, not a single sheep was accepted in the highest fatness category. What kind of authority can scientific development have after this?

It is time for scientists to make conclusions from the criticism. The Eastern Branch of VASKhNIL, in conformity with the KaCP Central Committee Buro decree, must accelerate the process of reorganizing the republic's agroindustrial complex and improving the scientific support for it.

A detrimental effect has been exerted upon the farm economy by numerous instances of mismanagement, unproductive expenditures, figure-padding, and

fraud. Livestock deaths alone during the past five-year plan resulted in a loss of hundreds of millions of rubles.

An extremely unfavorable situation has developed with regard to guaranteeing the intactness of the livestock, fodders, and other material assets.

A large number of livestock thefts continue to occur in Kyzyl-Orda, Turgay, and Aktyubinsk oblasts, and especially in Alma-Ata Oblast.

There has been a large expenditure of livestock to meet intrafarm needs. More than two million sheep are used for those purposes annually in the republic. Meat resources are being squandered in an especially uncontrolled manner, despite the strict warnings by the Central Committee, in Chimkent Oblast.

The farms in Algabasskiy Rayon, Chimkent Oblast, last year turned over to the state 67 horses, but used 244 head for their own needs. Similar situations have occurred in Alma-Ata and Taldy-Kurgan oblasts.

The reasons for this irresponsible attitude toward the nation's property lies in the serious miscalculations in the work of the party committees and in the lessening of exactingness toward the economic agencies, toward violators of production and labor discipline, and toward those who steal socialist property.

Not infrequently the party's obkoms and the oblispolkoms expend a lot of energy in organizing new farms. For example, in attempting to create the sheep-breeding Sovkhoz imeni Abay, the administrators of East Kazakhstan Oblast counted on increasing the production of mutton and wool. Approximately three million rubles of capital investments were expended for this purpose. Last year that sovkhos produced only one lamb for every four ewes! Sheep-breeding resulted in a loss of 764,000 rubles. And we have 156 farms like that, which chronically operate a loss. Moreover, on certain of them the wages considerably exceed the proceeds from the sale of the output.

The KaSSR Council of Ministers, the obkoms, the oblispolkoms, and KaSSR Gosagroprom must take a more careful approach to the organizing of new sovkhoses, must analyze every lagging farm, and must take exhaustive measures to reinforce their economy.

In conformity with the instructions issued by the CPSU Central Committee, it is necessary for us to intensify everywhere the work of introducing cost accountability and the brigade contract -- those exceptionally promising forms of organizing labor in rural localities. And yet, in a number of places, there has been no rush to introduce the contract. On the animal farms of Turgay and Alma-Ata oblasts, only 5-9 percent of the workers are working in contract brigades. This is although it is obvious that the broad introduction of these work forms provides considerable economic and social benefits.

Comrades! The CPSU Central Committee links the shortcomings in the development of animal husbandry primarily with the major omissions of the republic's party agencies in work with cadres.

We have actually had serious flaws here and the agencies that have been to blame for that, first of all, are the Central Committee's Department of Agriculture and the Food Industry, and the party's obkoms and raykoms. You can see what is happening with the director and chairman corps. During the past five years, three-fourths of the farm managers have been replaced on the farms in our republic. This is the result of our poor work in selecting cadres.

In Kustanay Oblast (Comrade Demidenko) during that period, 83 percent of the sovkhoz directors were replaced, as well as practically all the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association] chairmen. A similar shameful line in cadre policy is being taken by Comrades Zhakupov and Korkin.

In a number of places recently there has been an increase in the personnel turnover rate of specialists. For example, during the five-year plan in North Kazakhstan Oblast all the doctors of veterinary science have been replaced, and in Tselinograd, Kokchetav, and Kustanay oblasts, almost all the zootechnicians. The same situation prevails with regard to animal farm managers and brigade leaders.

It would seem that the correct selection of cadres presupposes trust in them and the education in them of independence and the ability to create a situation of self-confidence in the work. No one is allowed to dissipate cadres. In this regard it is necessary to think a bit about whether sovkhoz directors should be brought back into the Central Committee "nomenklatura."

The republic's animal farms are undergoing an acute shortage today of cadres in the mass occupations. The resolution of this problem depends upon the active work of the trade-union and Komsomol organizations and the influx of fresh efforts. However, the proper working and everyday living conditions for the young workers are not being created on many farms. Nine out of every ten animal farms do not have any personal-services center, and for the most part the animal farms do not have reading or recreation rooms, or shower rooms.

As a result, for the republic as a whole, as compared with 1984, the number of Komsomol-youth collectives in animal husbandry dropped by 198, and in Taldykurgan and Dzhezkazgan oblasts, the number was cut in half.

The KaSSR Komsomol Central Committee (Comrade Abdrakhmanov) must carry out work in this sector with greater aggressiveness and persistence.

The situation that has developed and the high requirements made in this regard by the CPSU Central Committee require the fundamental reorganization in the work of trade, personal services, public health, and other service spheres.

We are counting on the assumption that the Komsomol and trade-union organizations will not remain aloof from this important work. Needless to say, there are areas here that can be developed. Actually, as of today, for example, there have been no noticeable shifts in the personal services provided to the animal husbandrymen. In Turgay Oblast, 85 farms do not render any services in shoe repair or the dry cleaning of clothing, and 104 farms lack the services of barbershops and photo shops. In Aktyubinsk Oblast the

rural inhabitants do not have anywhere to go to have their refrigerators, washing machines, or other household appliances repaired.

An irresponsible attitude to their duties is taken by the cooperative organizations in Semipalatinsk and Alma-Ata oblasts. There the motor-vehicle supply stores operate without supervision, and the inhabitants of certain villages and the workers on remote plots and animal farms are poorly provided with warm clothing, thermos jugs, tea, vegetables, fruit, and other commodities and produce.

It is high time to understand that the degree to which the cadres are provided with various products and services is linked in the closest manner with the social reorganization of the rural areas. People remain longer and work better wherever good conditions exist.

However, individual administrators and the trade-union organizations remain deaf to people's needs.

The funds that are allocated for the social reorganization of the rural areas are being used poorly in Karaganda, Dzhezkazgan, and Aktyubinsk oblasts. In the past five-year plan, for example, 208 million rubles were allocated to sovkhozes in Turgay Oblast for structures in the social sphere. But as a consequence of the lack of supervision on the rate of construction, the plan was not fulfilled. It is time to put an end to the dependent attitude and to spend millions of rubles to attract manpower from other parts of the country.

In 1982 the KaSSR Council of Ministers Presidium adopted a decision which stipulated the activation, prior to 1985, of boarding schools for the children of animal husbandrymen, with accommodations for 30,000 children. However, that good decision, because of lack of supervision by the oblispolkoms, was not carried out, and accommodations for only 7800 children were activated. During that period of time not a single place was activated in Alma-Ata, Karaganda, Pavlodar, and Taldy-Kurgan oblasts. Are we really to believe that this is the way to show concern for the needs of the animal husbandrymen?

The CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "The Work of the Kazakh Party, Soviet, and Economic Agencies in Meeting the Goals of the Food Program and in Guaranteeing the Accelerated and Stable Development of Animal Husbandry" -- a key document for the republic's party organization -- must be accepted for strictest guidance and execution.

The obkoms and raykoms are obliged, within the shortest periods of time, to make the content of the Central Committee's decree, its spirit, and its requirements known to the republic party, soviet, and economic aktiv, to every Communist, to all the workers in the agroindustry, and to make them the basis of the entire organizing and political work, and to guarantee the fulfillment of the plan for production and procurements of animal-husbandry output for the current year and for the five-year plan as a whole.

We have at our disposal everything that we need to cope unconditionally with the responsible tasks that have been assigned in animal husbandry. At the present time, all categories of farms in the republic have almost 47 million

sheep and goats, 9.6 million head of cattle, 1.6 million horses, 3.3 million hogs, 141,000 camels, and 62 million head of poultry.

This is tremendous wealth, in the multiplying of which we must engage with no less aggressiveness than during the assimilation of the virgin lands. Opportunities and reserves for a sharp upsurge in animal husbandry exist in every oblast of the republic. The preliminary results of the work this year make this completely obvious.

And we are convinced that we will be able to raise animal husbandry to the level of modern highly developed branches of the national economy and to fulfill the assignments of the Food Program.

Comrades! The fulfillment of the tasks that are confronting the republic depend to a decisive degree upon the level of party guidance. That is why, when improving the party-organizational and educational work, mobilizing people for creative shock work, and increasing responsibility and discipline, the party committees and organizations must take decisive steps to eradicate dependent moods and the attempts to cover up their own blunders and failures by referring to various external situations and unfavorable conditions.

We have good examples of well-coordinated and effective work performed by production collectives. They include the 40 Let Oktyabrya Kolkoz, Taldy-Kurgan Oblast; the Moskalevskiy Sovkhoz, Kustanay Oblast; Sovetskiy Sovkhoz, North Kazakhstan Oblast; and Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, Alma-Ata Oblast.

A typical feature in the activity of these and other advanced collectives and their party organizations is the high level of responsibility for what is going on in production, the sense of what is new, the bold and broad introduction of the best experience into practice, and its constant creative development. Here the Communists march in the vanguard of the competition, do everything to increase the role of the farm specialists, and take active steps to guarantee a turning point in people's consciousness, psychology, and behavior.

Every day convinces us of the fact that, without reorganization, movement ahead is impossible. "Too much depends upon the success of reorganization," Comrade M. S. Gorbachev remarked in his speech in Khabarovsk, "to allow even the slightest lessening of the attention paid to it."

It must be clear to everyone that the sooner we get rid of all the blather, the hushing up of shortcomings, and the complacency, the greater breadth we give to publicity, criticism, and self-criticism, and the stronger our organizational spirit and the fight against all kinds of undesirable situations are, the more confidently our republic's economy will develop and the more completely the party committees will correspond to the purpose for which they are intended.

Unfortunately, the administrators in some of the oblasts have so far done very little for practical reorganization. Judge for yourselves. Some of them, in the draft plans submitted for this five-year plan, failed to stipulate the intensification of animal husbandry and even insisted on reducing the rates.

For example, Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, in the draft of the 1990 plan, stipulates an increase in meat production of only 0.8 percent, and for milk and eggs, even less than the plan for the current year. At the same time, the oblast itself is asking for an increase in the amount of meat being shipped in from other oblasts by 1100 tons.

The proper growth of livestock productivity is not being planned in Karaganda, Kokchetav, Turgay, Semipalatinsk, and Dzhambul oblasts.

Would it be permissible to ask the managers of those oblasts who, then, will fulfill the assignments of the Food Program? What kind of acceleration can we count on if this is the way that people understand the problem?

It is necessary to fight decisively against this kind of dependent's attitude and to educate cadres in the spirit of the unity of word and deed. We do not have any other path. Life and the command of the time require us to take intensification into consideration, to understand it, and to fight persistently for it.

The republic's party committees, when engaging in the assignment of cadres, frequently concentrate their attention basically upon the "nomenklatura" positions, overlooking at such time the production sectors proper. Thus, five years ago there were many more CPSU members than there are now among the zooveterinary specialists on the farms of North Kazakhstan and Semipalatinsk oblasts; livestock specialists in East Kazakhstan Oblast; among calf-herds in Kzyl-Orda Oblast; and among horse-herds in Karaganda Oblast. Now only 9-10 percent of the shepherds in Alma-Ata, Dzhambul, and Chirchik oblasts are party members. A tenth of the animal farms in Aktyubinsk and North Kazakhstan oblasts do not have a single Communist among the workers.

In Tselinograd Oblast last year, 17 specialists were accepted as CPSU members, and 15 were expelled. Is that the way that things should be done? This attitude toward the reinforcement of the party nucleus and to the selection of people as party members can nullify all the work that has been done previously.

The Central Committee departments and the party committees must increase the vanguard role of the Communists, especially in animal husbandry. In the republic last year, more than 30 percent of the Communist animal husbandrymen failed to cope with their pledges. Nevertheless, practically none of the party obkoms carried out a real study of that question. But, instead, the agendas for the bureau sessions at certain party committees are frequently overloaded with administrative questions.

The party's obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms and the primary party organizations must analyze thoroughly the work of all administrative links, must make the correct conclusions from the lessons of the past, must grant independence to the economic agencies, and at the same time must hold them strictly accountable for nonfulfillment of their direct duties.

In the situation that has been created, the resolution of the critical problems is impossible without the energetic reorganization of the work style

and methods, without making a clean break and getting rid of obsolete approaches and dogmas, as was mentioned in the Central Committee decision. Many party obkoms and raykoms are still making their way with difficulty over well-trodden paths, have not overcome the "sitting in the office" style of working, and have been putting their faith in the power of paperwork. For example, during the past year and a half the party's Kokchetav Obkom (Comrade Sagdiyev) issued 57 documents on agricultural questions alone; and the party's Aktyubinsk Obkom (Comrade Trofimov) issued 48 decrees. It is difficult even to monitor such a large number of decisions.

At the present time, in every sector, it is necessary actually to guarantee effective and innovative work and to accelerate the reorganization process, D. A. Kunayev emphasized. The entire activity of the party committees must be evaluated not by the number of measures carried out, but by the real results in the fulfillment of the assigned tasks.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat has directed the attention of the Kazakh Central Committee and the party's obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms to the need for a major reorganization of the work style and methods in conformity with the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1986 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Large tasks confront the local soviets of people's deputies. The party agencies and the KaSSR Supreme Soviet will have to do a serious amount of work to assure the unconditional fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee's decree entitled "The Further Improvement of the Party Guidance of the Soviets of People's Deputies."

A large share of the blame for the prolonged lag in the development of animal husbandry in our republic also lies on the KaSSR Council of Ministers, which has not yet achieved the prompt and complete fulfillment of the decisions being made with regard to this very important branch of agriculture. It has been doing little to increase its exactingness toward the ministries and departments and the Soviet agencies for guaranteeing the fulfillment of the Food Program assignments.

KaSSR Gosagroprom (Comrade Gukasov) and its agencies in the outlying areas are not yet making complete use of the rights granted to them for resolving the basic problems of accelerating scientific-technical progress in all branches of the APK [agroindustrial complex], and especially the questions pertaining to such important economic levers of administration as the collective contract, complete cost accountability, and the repayment of one's own expenses. RAPO administrators and specialists still are replacing the organizing of live creative work in the outlying areas with directive instructions, meetings, and "office-type" hustle and bustle.

In this regard I would like to mention once again that organizational growth has been drawn out to an inadmissible extent, and no provision is being made for the fully valid functioning of KaSSR Gosagroprom. At times one gets the impression that the workers in the system are united by a single name, but operate in a disconnected, uncoordinated manner.

Kazsovprom (Comrade Kadyrbayev) and the republic trade-union committees must intensify the work of organizing effective socialist competition and must fight more energetically to assure that the labor collectives fulfill the plans and the pledges that have been taken.

Something that continues to be a very important task for the party committees is the guidance of the Komsomol. It is necessary to be bolder in assigning responsible and serious tasks to young people, and to take all steps to support them and render assistance to them in beneficial undertakings. I shall remark once again: the blame for the fact that the movement of young men and women under the motto "Sheep-breeding is a job for the young" has gone into a slump lies primarily with the party committees.

Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee in its decree not only revealed serious shortcomings in the development of animal husbandry, but also -- and this is most important -- armed the republic's party, soviet, and economic agencies with a precise program of actions to eliminate them. Now the matter is entirely up to us. It is necessary without any delay and in a purposeful manner to undertake the implementation of the tasks assigned by the party. It is necessary within the shortest period of time to bring the branch out of its slump. Each of us, in his own place, must do everything to assure that the republic's party organization will report worthily to the CPSU Central Committee about the fulfillment of that decree and the assignments of the Food Program.

After the completion of the debate on the question being discussed at the plenum, the concluding speech was given by Comrade D. A. Kunayev. He said:

Comrades!

At our plenum today we discussed in a well-principled manner, critically, from the positions of the increased party requirements, an important question that is linked with the resolution of the problems that have come to a head in animal husbandry.

The key directive statements of the CPSU Central Committee in the field of animal husbandry must be made the basis of the activity of the republic's entire party organization. It is necessary to make the correct practical conclusions from the just criticism of our work.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee Bureau, the KaSSR Council of Ministers, the obkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations, and the Soviet and economic agencies must be aware, with all due responsibility, that the present state of affairs in animal husbandry must be fundamentally corrected within the shortest periods of time.

Beginning with this year, as required by our party's Central Committee, we must substantially and noticeably increase our contribution to the formation of our country's foodstuffs fund.

As was emphasized in the statements at the plenum that were made by members of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, our republic has all the conditions and capabilities for fulfilling this task. Everyone must make the appropriate conclusions from the criticism expressed at the plenum.

Comrades, all of us have to work a bit harder to guarantee the fulfillment of the directives of the CPSU Central Committee and the decisions that our plenum will make.

Our urgent combat task is to guarantee the plan for the current year and for the five-year plan as a whole for the production and procurements of all types of output of animal husbandry.

Comrades! When speaking about the state of affairs in animal husbandry and the prospects for its development, we by no means can overlook the questions of the struggle for a large harvest of Kazakhstan grain. In this strategic and decisive sector, all of us are answerable to the party and the nation, to the present and the future.

In this regard the fulfillment by every farm, rayon, and oblast of the stable grain-procurement plans that have been established for the current five-year plan is a task of exceptional state importance.

The present harvest period is the first after the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Kazakh CP Congress, and this imposes on us special responsibility for conducting it rapidly, in a highly organized and efficient manner.

In the starting year of the five-year plan, as everyone knows, the republic has pledged to produce no less than 29 million tons of grain.

The workers of Dzhabul Oblast have already fulfilled the grain-procurements plan. With a consideration of corn grain and rice, the workers in Alma-Ata, Chimkent, and Taldy-Kurgan oblast will overfulfill the planned assignments for delivery of grain.

As of today, all the oblasts in the republic have already begun to bring in the harvest. The grain crops have been threshed on 37 percent of the areas. The state granaries have received 2,785,000 tons of grain, or 17 percent of the planned quantity. The quality of the grain is higher everywhere than last year's.

In certain rayons and oblasts, and primarily in Aktyubinsk, Ural, Semipalatinsk, and East Kazakhstan oblasts, the harvest yield, for a number of reasons, has proven to be below the computed yield.

In the largest grain oblasts the grain field promises to produce a good harvest. We are especially pleased by the areas that are being cultivated by means of intensive technological schemes. They occupy 4.5 million hectares here.

The fruitful work of the party organizations, the tremendous virgin-lands experience, and the skills of the vegetable husbandrymen in Kustanai,

Kokchetav, Tselinograd, North Kazakhstan, Pavlodar, Karaganda, and other oblasts enable us to overfulfill the socialist pledges that have been taken with regard to the production and procurements of grain.

In the current year we also have a right to expect a greater return from the irrigated areas on which a rather good harvest of rice and of corn for grain purposes has been grown. The prompt and efficient harvesting of these areas will substantially supplement the republic's grain balance sheet.

Thus, the condition of grain products, as well as the statements made at today's plenum by the administrators of a number of oblasts, enable us to conclude that this year we have a real opportunity to fulfill the pledges taken with regard to the production and procurements of grain, and consolidate our positions on heights that elevate our republic.

The farms must provide themselves with seeds and a sufficient quantity of forage.

But the prompt and efficient carrying out of the operations to bring in the harvest will require us to perform intensive, responsible, and effective work. We have at our disposal everything necessary to do this.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have rendered the republic a large amount of assistance in the form of transport, technology, and people. In addition to this, it is our duty to make the most effective use of our own reserves and opportunities.

The 33rd harvest in the virgin lands is a serious examination for the republic's party organization and all the vegetable husbandrymen.

The harvest operations require the greatest return, maximum organizational spirit, high discipline and order, initiative, bold maneuvering of resources, and the ability to organize correctly people's labor and the continuous, round-the-clock operation of the technology.

The success of any job can be guaranteed only by high harvest rates that increase with every passing day, the sharp reduction of the gap between the mowing and threshing of the grain, and the highest responsibility for the fate of the harvest.

Special attention must be devoted to the quality of the work in all sectors of the harvest conveyor belt. Simple computation shows that if, on every hectare, one leaves behind even one kilogram of grain, that will result, on our gigantic grain field, in irreplaceable losses amounting to tens of thousands of tons. It is necessary to take timely steps to eliminate the shortcomings and to punish strictly anyone guilty of sloppiness, losses, or the careless storage or spoilage of grain.

The task consists in completing on every farm the mowing and threshing of the grain with the shortest possible periods of time, by no later than 20-25 September. The availability of the technology and its correct use make it possible to complete the harvest even ahead of those deadlines. This is

extremely important with a consideration of the possible worsening of the weather conditions.

It will be necessary within better periods of time to harvest the groats crops, corn grown for grain, rice, sunflower seeds, cotton, sugar beets, grapes, and fruit, melon, and other crops.

One must also not forget that standing in the center of the struggle for grain and for the harvest is man. It is the duty of the party, soviet, and trade-union agencies and the administrators of the farms and engineer services to guarantee the highly productive labor, good everyday services, and precise payment of the labor performed by the grain-growers and all the participants in the harvest.

In the struggle for a large harvest of Kazakhstan grain we must see everywhere the complete manifestation of the mighty power of the socialist competition among the harvest participants: the combine and tractor operators, the procurement specialists, repairmen, truck drivers, railroad workers, river transport workers, mechanizer students, and fighting men in the Soviet Army.

All the ideological and mass-political work, the press, television, and the radio must be subordinated to increasing the rates and improving the quality of the harvest operations.

The literary and artistic figures and workers in culture, public health, trade, personal services, and public nutrition cannot remain aloof from the nationwide job.

Harvesting the grain down to the very last spike and fulfilling with distinction the socialist pledges that have been taken for selling grain to the state are a vitally important matter for the party organizations and for every worker at sovkhoses, kolkhoses, and other enterprises in the agroindustrial complex.

It is our duty, comrades, to do everything to assure that this year we will sustain a convincing victory on the grain front.

We also have at our disposal all the opportunities for assuring, in accordance with the decisions of the 16th Kazakh CP Congress, the complete providing of ourselves with potatoes and vegetables produced by ourselves. A good harvest of these crops has been grown everywhere. The republic can fulfill the national economic plan for the sale of these crops to the state.

Various barriers, mismanagement, and inefficiency must be eliminated. All the produce that has been grown must be brought to the customer. This will require the broader use of the "field to store" direct ties and the rights that have been granted to sell fruits and vegetables at markets. It also requires the acceleration of the conversion of enterprises to the production of nonalcoholic beverages.

In addition to the harvesting and procurement of grain, one must not overlook the questions of preparing for the next harvest.

In a word, it is a matter of assuring that the harvest will be brought in completely, within compressed periods of time; guaranteeing an increase in the production and procurements of agricultural output as a whole, its intactness, and its high quality; and satisfying more completely the public's needs for potatoes, vegetables, fruits, and products of animal husbandry.

Comrades! Not much time remains until the end of the year. Obviously, questions concerning the work of industry are being put on the agenda.

The republic fulfilled the plan for the first eight months ahead of schedule. The increase in the volumes of production in industry was basically secured by means of an increase in labor productivity, and also as a result of the fact that the construction workers worked better than they did last year. The shipment volumes in transport increased. The commodity-turnover plan was fulfilled.

All this enables us to conclude that the positive shifts that have begun in our republic's economy are gathering strength. However, they cannot serve as grounds for deluding ourselves. Instead, we must develop and reinforce them further, and must use the existing reserves more completely.

At the same time it must be said that the slump that has been noted in the work rates in industry has not been overcome. According to the results for the first seven months, there was a 9 percent increase in the number of lagging enterprises and a 25 percent increase in those that have not been fulfilling their contract pledges.

In the second half-year the ministries that sharply reduced the efficiency of their operation were KaSSR Mintsvetmet [Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy] (Comrade Takezhanov), KaSSR Minenergo [Ministry of Power and Electrification] (Comrade Kazachkov), and KaSSR Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] (Comrade Dzhomartov).

The Karaganda, Pavlodar, Dzhezkazgan, and Turgay obkoms, and a number of the party's gorkoms and rayons have lessened their attention to the work of industry.

We are obliged, in conformity with the requirements of the June 1986 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, to take the most decisive steps and to change the situation for the better. During the period remaining until the end of the year, we must now produce output valued on the average of 2.49 billion rubles a month, which is 6.2 percent more than during the time that has elapsed.

In the resolution of this task, every oblast must find its place so that this year we can guarantee this year, unconditionally, the fulfillment of the pledges that were taken and lay a good foundation for reliable work in the 12th Five-Year Plan.

The situation that has developed requires a large acceleration also in the work of the republic's construction organizations, especially at projects that

are scheduled for activation in the next planning period in heavy and light industry and in the agroindustrial complex.

At the 3rd Plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, the party's Pavlodar, Semipalatinsk, Guryev, and Ural obkoms had pointed out to them serious shortcomings in the building of structures at the Ekibastuz GRES, the Shulbinsk GES, and the Caspian Petroleum-Gas Complex, and primarily the Tengizskoye and Karachaganakskoye deposits.

Today we are forced once again to remind obkom first secretaries Comrades Yerpilov, Kubashev, Kulibayev, and Iskaliyev, as well as Comrades Kazachkov, Makiyevskiy, and Tulepov that the state of affairs at those construction sites has not yet changed substantially.

The republic has lagged behind in the activation of housing, public-health structures, and general-educational schools. Children's preschool institutions are being constructed unsatisfactorily in North Kazakhstan, Semipalatinsk, and Chimkent oblasts. The annual plan for the activation of housing in Guryev, Pavlodar, and Turgay oblasts is threatened with disruption.

Today we are obliged once again to remind the first secretaries of party committees that the lag in the construction of housing and structures intended for social, cultural, and everyday purposes is inadmissible. In this area we shall not accept any attempts at justification or explanation. There can be no thought of nonfulfillment of the plans.

This is the most strenuous, most responsible time for construction workers. During the time remaining until the end of the year, it is necessary to guarantee the activation of almost twice as many fixed assets as during the period that has passed. It is necessary to activate more than half the planned volume of activation of housing, children's preschool institutions, and public-health structures.

It is necessary to be completely aware that nonfulfillment of the assignments in this sector will result not only in failure to fulfill this year's program, but will also threaten the fulfillment of the construction plans for the entire five-year period. It is necessary to make the appropriate conclusions from this.

The party, Soviet, trade-union, and economic agencies, in conformity with the guiding principles enunciated by the CPSU Central Committee, must establish rigid supervision over the complete and timely preparation of the national economy for operation during the forthcoming autumn-winter period.

We are obliged to make the proper conclusions from the lessons of the past, and to guarantee the fulfillment of the guiding principle stated by the CPSU Central Committee concerning the prompt preparation of enterprises, organizations, and structures in power engineering and the municipal economy for work during the autumn-winter period.

Comrades!

The party assigns a special role to the current year and to the entire 12th Five-Year Plan. As Comrade M. S. Gorbachev has emphasized repeatedly in his statements, we shall achieve an acceleration and shall lay a foundation during these years that will determine the rates of socioeconomic development and the level of the national standard of living.

Guided by these principles, the party organizations, ministries, departments, and production collectives must achieve good, outstripping rates in their work, in order to guarantee the unconditional monthly fulfillment of the plans and the socialist pledges that have been taken. It is important not only to fulfill the plan, but also to make up for the lag that has been allowed to occur in individual branches of the national economy. This will have tremendous importance, both economic and political.

It is only this kind of state approach, at the decisive stage in implementing the party's economic policy, that meets the high requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1986 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrades, please allow me to express the assurance that, in response to the concern shown by the CPSU Central Committee and by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev personally for the further development of the agriculture and multibranch economy of Soviet Kazakhstan, the Communists and all the workers in our republic will perform good, concrete deeds and achievements.

5075
CSO: 1830/43

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LATVIAN CC DISCUSSES HIGH CRIME RATE

Riga CINA in Latvian 6 Sep 86 p 1

[Excerpts] To Demand the Greatest Responsibility
A Meeting at the CP of the Latvian Central Committee

A meeting of workers of party and soviet active and law protection organs took place at the CP of the Latvian Central Committee. The question on the tasks of party, soviet and state organs and public organizations in combating crime and in a further consolidation of crime prevention in the republic was examined.

A report was delivered by B. Pugo, First Secretary of the CP of Latvia Central Committee.

Participants in discussing the report included V.S. Dauksis; Latvian SSR first deputy procurator, V. Yegorov, minister of internal affairs; A. Rubiks, chairman of city of Riga executive committee and V. Millers, rector of the Latvian State University.

It was noted that the republic's party, soviet, trade union and law protection organs have begun to pay more attention to crime prevention and combatting crime. To a certain extent the procuracy, militia and people's courts have made their work more active. Combatting of alcoholism and drunkenness has been strengthened.

As a result of the work carried out, a tendency of lowering the level of crime has become apparent. For example, the number of registered crimes in the republic in the first half of 1986, in comparison with same period last year, has diminished by 12.6 percent.

The microclimate in several towns and rayons and also at many labour collectives has become healthier. This is especially apparent in Daugavpils and Liepaja, in Valka and Aluksne rayons, where the level of crime has essentially diminished. The number of serious crimes has declined, and detection of crimes has essentially improved. Order on roads has become better and the number of accident victims has diminished.

But there are also such objective indices which show that the serious shortcomings in the struggle against crime have not yet been eliminated for the time being. According to the number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants, the republic occupies second place in our country, and according to the percentage

of detected crimes--the last place. Almost 40 percent of the crimes have been committed in a state of intoxication. This is one of the worst indices among the union republics. A great worry is caused by the fact that the share of crimes committed in our republic by persons under age is twice as high as in other regions.

This shows that the work of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and law protection organs did not meet present-time requirements. Some party rayon and town committees, local executive committees, militia and procuracy workers were talking about reorganizing work rather than actually reorganizing.

A year-and-a-half ago at an activ meeting the party, soviet and law protection organs of Riga, Jelgava, Ventspils and Jurmala were sharply criticized for an excessively high level of crime. But they seem not to have heard this criticism. The necessary conclusions have not been arrived at. With regard to the number of crimes, these towns still occupy the first places. The situation has worsened in Jelgava, Daugavpils, Ogre and Tukums rayons. In this regard, the rayon executive committee chairmen of these regions, A.V. Kroger, V.Ya. Krols, Kh.E. Zaga, A.Zh. Kruz, could be asked why they had not stopped this dangerous tendency.

In Daugavpils the level of criminality now is almost twice as low as, let us say, in Jelgava. This has been achieved because of a more demanding party committee and executive committee but, for example, at the city of Riga internal affairs administration and the city's executive committee itself they are grumbling about many thefts from flats, about the fact that cars and tires are frequently stolen. But presently, little is being done about that.

At the previous meeting of the activ, the procuracy organs and internal affairs departments of the cities of Riga, Jelgava and Jurmala, of Riga and Ogre rayons were criticized about the poor situation in the detection of crimes. Despite this, even now the level of their detection is considerably lower than the average in the republic.

The struggle against crimes in public places is not satisfactory. In several places many crimes have been committed by persons under age.

For example, in the Ventspils rayon in the course of a half-year 11 litres of alcoholic beverages were sold per head of inhabitant (including old persons and children). This is twice as much as the average in the republic. Still recently there was one alcoholic beverages shop there for every 500 inhabitants, 14 times more than in the neighbouring Liepaja rayon.

The militia and the people's voluntary squad members have eradicated drunkenness on the streets to a certain extent. Nevertheless, it makes itself more noticed in families and hostels. The situation is bad in the combat of crime against everyday life. For example, at Ogre many crimes are committed at hostels and primarily under the influence of alcoholic intoxication.

Also in the streets and parks of many towns a complete order has not yet been achieved. This has occurred because militia workers have begun to pay less attention to drinkers. If a man is not lying in the street, let him drink. Is it not precisely because of this that the number of drunkards taken to medical drying-out establishments in Riga has diminished by one-third in the first half-year?

Worry is caused by serious mistakes in the selection and placement of cadres of law protection organs. Recently, chairmen of Bauska and Ludza rayon people's courts Z. Kregers and N. Khmel'nitska, and the head of the Cesis rayon internal affairs department, V. Dobicinaitis, have been called or are being called to answer criminal cases for bribe-taking. Procurator of the city of Riga's Kirova rayon, D. Libietis, who was detained in a state of intoxication, has been dismissed from procuracy organs. Comparatively many transgressions of law have been committed by the rank-and-file workers of law-protection organs.

All these are nothing other than extraordinary events. In every instance those specific workers who have selected and recommended these persons and have controlled their activity must be called to account.

The appropriate party rayon committees and executive committees deserve a serious rebuke for insufficient work with law-protection organ cadres.

In analyzing legal transgressions, one has to conclude that the republic's party, soviet and law protection organs are still poorly eradicating the causes which create criminal conditions. Several executive committees have left legal transgression prevention to its own course, relying on law protection organs. In their turn, the latter have not had any time to spare for this work, and there has been enough worry to raise the level of crime detection. The party Jelgava and Ventspils city committees, Ogre, Jelgava, Ventspils and Daugapils rayon committees still have not managed to break the spirit of self-satisfaction and a striving to expect everything from others. They have not demanded that soviet, trade union, Komsomol and law-protection organs strictly fulfill the strengthening of law and order plans.

In the future, one must no longer be reconciled with such a situation, with such sluggishness in tackling the outlined tasks, with such light-heartedness. It is time to take care of establishing proper order in every town and rayon, at every labor collective. The concern for its strengthening is our common concern.

It is the duty of party organizations and communists to advance the strictest demands on those leaders and labor collectives who shyly pretend not to see drunkards, thieves and brawlers, do not react upon militia and procuracy reports, upon additional decisions of people's courts. These documents must not be kept in drawers, but must be there for everybody to see. And, in the first place, care about this must be taken by the communists of Tukums, Kuldiga and Riga rayons, because in these rayons the reports of law protection organs are being ignored especially frequently.

Serious reorganization is necessary in the work with families, especially with those which we call unfavorable families. What good can one expect from families where almost no day passes without a drink, where the children say: "Daddy did not steal it, but brought it from work?"

Many a thing has to be changed in organizing crime prevention among persons under age. There is still a great deal of formalism and bureaucratism in it. Not infrequently the entire work is restricted to formal undertakings, reviews and accounts, but there is nobody who can look into the youngster's eyes and have a heart-to-heart talk with him. But there are, after all, commissions and inspectorates of juvenile matters, pedagogue units, work mentors and teachers. At present there are, on the average, 50 Komsomol members alone for every difficult youngster, but they are unable to re-educate him and to include him into interesting work. Yet it is precisely the Komsomol members who must set the tone and must maintain order at houses of culture, young people's cafes and discotheques. It is precisely their duty to take upon themselves the patronage of children's rooms, to form in them increasingly more new sections and technical creativity groups.

It is as important to make the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism more active. It is time to move from talking about abstinence zones to their formation. The Ministry of Health already has the forces to establish in this five-year period at every rayon's centre its narcologic in-patient unit. It is extraordinarily important to build quicker a Riga treatment and alcohol prevention center, where alcoholics will be treated under compulsion.

Local soviets must care more for raising the work efficiency of people's voluntary squads. Now the local headquarters are led by town and rayon executive chairmen. At their disposal is an immense force--thousands of people's voluntary squad members. For paying for their additional holidays alone, the state spends more than R1 million every year. But the return quite frequently are illusory. This is known also by the people's voluntary squad republic headquarters which is led by deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, L. Bartkevich. It is known, but no one is in a hurry to improve the situation.

Not infrequently the workers of our republic's law protection organs lack initiative and persistence. This is especially characteristic of the workers of the service for combatting plundering of socialist property. They are too afraid of the larger cases. For example, in Jelgava, Rezekne, Gulbene, Daugavpils and Limbazi rayons in the course of seven months only one case has been registered in each, which has been initiated by this service.

A very serious alarm is caused by the shortcomings in the work of investigating organs. In the republic, there is not only the lowest level of crime detection in our country, but also one of the highest percentages of undetected cases. It is unrelentingly increasing. The share of cases with a long period of investigation is still high. Heads of the Ministry of Internal Affairs must look at this problem more attentively. It has to be considered thoroughly how to further strengthen the investigating service and how to ensure better working conditions for investigators.

The republic's procuracy investigating administration and its head V.S. Dauksis must seriously improve their work. The workers of this administration must show an example to others and not give cause to criticism. Bureaucratism and an unprincipled attitude has no place in procuracy, which has to stand guard for our laws.

A bigger return must be demanded from the Juridical Faculty of the Latvian State University. Not only the training of future jurists has to be improved but also an active participation of students in the struggle against crime must be ensured.

An extensive openness in the work of law protection organs and timely and frank informing of inhabitants about the results of criminal cases, trials and procuracy inspections must now become the norm.

People believe in the law protection organs and expect better work from them. These hopes have to be justified.

At the conclusion of the meeting B. Pugo spoke.

Comrades A. Brils, A. Gorbunov, A. Klaucens, K. Nuksa, J. Oherins, R. Praude, V. Sobolev, A. Zitmanis, G. Loskutov, I. Prieditis and S. Zukulis, and also the instructor of the party organizational work department of the CPSU Central Committee A. Lagno participated in the work of the meeting.

LATINFORM

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CSO: 1808/20

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LATVIAN BURO EXAMINES STATUS OF WEAK COLLECTIVES

Riga CINA in Latvian 5 Sep 86 p 1

[Excerpts] At the CP of Latvia Central Committee

The buro analyzed the results obtained in fulfilling the resolution of the CP of Latvia Central Committee and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers on the undertakings to strengthen the economically weak collective and state farms. It was noted that the work which has been carried out in fulfilling this resolution has positively influenced rural area socioeconomic development and has improved working conditions.

In the five-year period on economically weak collective and state farms, 370,200 square meters of housing floorspace have been put to use; on 34 farms pre-school children's establishments have been built, 38 shops and eating-houses, 54 everyday-life service points and other social infrastructure objects have been handed over to the ordering customers. Generally, the moving away of manpower from farms has stopped, the demographic situation has improved and production of agricultural products has expanded.

But some farms have not utilized to the full extent the economic potential which has been created. Several rayon committees of the party, rayon executive committees and rayon agro-industrial associations have become reconciled with such a situation.

On some collective and state farms the allocated means have remained unused. They have been assimilated especially poorly in Balvi, Aluksne, Ludza and Gulbene rayons.

Still greatly in debt to the rural working people are the construction organizations of ministries and departments of union subordination.

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CSO: 1808/20

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

AZERBAIJAN PARTY PLENUM DEBATES STOCKRAISING

PM091611 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 26 Oct 86 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A routine Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held on 25 October.

The plenum discussed the tasks of the republic's party organization in intensifying feed production and ensuring the accelerated development of stock-raising in the light of the 27th CPSU Congress demands.

A report was delivered by K.M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

A debate was held on the report, in which the following took part: N.E. Mustafayev, first secretary of Nakhichevan Obkom; B.S. Kevorkov, first secretary of Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom; S.N. Murtuzayev, first secretary of Agdamskiy Raykom; Z.A. Mamedov, first secretary of Apsheronskiy Raykom; N.V. Nikitin, chairman of Kalinin Kolkhoz, Ismaillinskiy Rayon; Z.G. Abdullayev, first secretary of Khachmasskiy Raykom; G.K. Guliyev, milkmaid at Thaelmann Kolkhoz, Kubatliinskiy Rayon; N.F. Guseynbekov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Agroindustrial Committee; I.A. Golovina, oil extraction operator at the Artemneftegaz Oil and Gas Extration Administration; A.M. Radzhabov, first secretary of Sheki Gorkom; R.D. Dzhamilov, Azerbaijan SSR minister of grain products; D.KH. Sattarov, director of the Azerbaijan Feed, Field, and Pastureland Scientific Research Institute; and Yu.a. Nasibov, director of the Second Novobakinskaya Broiler Poultry Plant.

The plenum was addressed by V.K. Onisovets, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department.

A resolution was adopted on the question under discussion.

N.M. Tishchenko, sector chief at the CPSU Central Committee; and V.I. Romanov, senior official at the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

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CSO: 1830/135

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TuSSR: NIYAZOV ADDRESSES CC PLENUM

PM070915 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 21 Oct 86 pp 1, 2

[Report delivered by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, at 18 October Sixth Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Plenum: "Bringing Party and State Discipline Into Line with Contemporary Demands"]

[Text] Comrades!

The 27th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum devoted much attention to the strengthening of party and state discipline, the enhancement of cadres' responsibility, and the struggle against shortcomings and negative phenomena because without all this the restructuring of all spheres of our life is unthinkable. Today these party demands are particularly topical for our party organization.

They are topical because crude violations of party and state discipline and complicity in window dressing, overreporting, and deception of the state have come to light over the last few years in all oblasts in the republic, and in Tashauz Oblast in particular.

The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee has received in the recent past many letters, statements, and other reports about serious negative phenomena in Tashauz Oblast. The Central Committee Bureau, worried about the prevailing situation, decided to analyze in greater detail the state of affairs in the oblast. Central Committee members and leaders of several ministries and departments were sent there for this purpose. A Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee task force worked in the oblast. Numerous meetings and conversations took place there with Central Committee members, the oblast party organization's elected aktiv, and ordinary people.

The Central Committee Bureau deemed it necessary to submit the results of this work for examinations by a Central Committee Plenum.

For a long period Tashauz Oblast was unjustifiably considered successful as regards the development of the economy, and of agriculture in particular. This semblance of prosperity was created by former leaders of the republic and by leaders thriving now. Oblast leaders Atayev and Mollayev and former Obkom Second Secretary Ilyushkin were not modest with self-praise.

In their speeches at Central Committee plenums, republican Supreme Soviet sessions, and meetings of the oblast's party aktiv and working people, they painted a picture of complacency and smugness and depicted the state of the economy and culture and the moral-political situation in rosy colors.

For example, Atayev spoke as follows in his report to the March 1985 party obkom plenum: "Working people in the agroindustrial complex have carried out extensive work to implement the food and land reclamation programs. Agriculture is developing steadily thanks to the implementation of organizational and economic measures."

It later transpired that these successes were exaggerated through numerous well covered up instances of false and exaggerated reporting.

The 1984 plan for the sale of raw cotton to the state was not fulfilled, and the annual report was inflated by more than 19,000 metric tons of cotton. Party Obkom First Secretary Atayev deceived the party Central Committee and reported fulfillment of socialist pledges, which resulted in the oblast being awarded a republic challenge Red Banner.

Overreporting, window dressing, and the desire to score easy successes corrupted people to such an extent that, with the complicity of the party obkom, many leaders of oblast organizations essentially ceased [to] deal with the oblast's economic and social development.

The sizable capital investments appropriated by union and republican organs for the development of national economic sectors in Tashauz Oblast are inefficiently assimilated. While capital investment funds have increased by 60 percent over the last three 5-year plan periods, the pace in industry and agriculture has fallen by two-thirds. Instead of the planned growth of labor productivity during the 11th 5-Year Plan period, it fell by 3.8 percent in industry and by 4.5 percent in agriculture.

The due attention was not paid to the introduction of new equipment and advanced technology in national economic sectors during the last 5-year plan period, and the relevant plans were only one-half fulfilled. The oblast's enterprises have equipment worth more than R2.5 million awaiting installation.

Capital construction is also progressing unsatisfactorily, more than R30 million of state funds have not been assimilated in 5 years, and production projects are being constructed at an extremely slow pace. No attention is paid to ensuring employment for the entire able-bodied population. One person out of every five does not participate in social production. The plans for the construction of housing and projects for municipal purposes, health services, and public education were not fulfilled during the 5-year plan period.

Party Obkom Secretary Lomov, responsible for this sector, failed to justify the trust placed in him, displayed inertia and inactivity, and calmly observed the existing shortcomings.

The oblast's agriculture was developed by means of extensive factors. The party obkom and the oblast leaders, and primarily Atayev, who was in charge of this sector, failed to analyze in depth the activity of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and paid no attention to their economic results.

The production plans for a whole range of livestock and crop farming products were not fulfilled during the 11th 5-Year Plan, while animal productivity and agricultural crop yields fell. For example, milk yield per cow stood at 2,196 kg, which is 91 kg less than the republican average, the average handover weight of cattle was 373 kg (compared with the republican average of 383 kg), and cotton yields during the 5-year plan fell from 27 to 25 quintals per hectare.

With a view to covering up these failures, and also in pursuit of an inflated reputation and bogus prestige, the oblast leaders and primarily Obkom First Secretary Atayev and Oblispolkom Chairman Mollayev took the path of window dressing and downright deception of the party, the state, and the people. They misled the CPSU Central Committee and the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee by reporting forged data concerning the state of affairs in agriculture and mainly in cotton growing.

As a result of the work which was done, it was established that the serious shortcomings were not an accidental occurrence, that they had built up over the years, and that they were the consequence of serious mistakes in the style and methods of work by the Tashauz party obkom, distortion of the principles of party leadership of economic building, and crude trampling of the norms of party life by the oblast leaders and by party Obkom First Secretary Atayev personally.

Instances of embezzlement, window dressing, overreporting, and speculation were widespread in the oblast. During the last 5-year plan alone, there came to light more than 9,000 instances of embezzlement and missing socialist property totaling more than R11 million and numerous cases of overreporting, bribery, mercenary abuse of official position by incumbents, and criminally negligent attitudes toward the safekeeping of socialist property. This occurred on a particularly large scale within the agroindustrial complex.

A large group of oblast officials, including Piriyeu, former first secretary of the Leninskiy party raykom, was tried and sentenced for overreporting raw cotton statistics, embezzling money, and accepting bribes. But the Obkom Bureau failed to evaluate this case in a principled fashion and tried to keep it a secret from the public. Furthermore, Comrade Meredov, chief of the Tashauz Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Directorate Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department, who brought these facts to light, was subsequently subjected to persecution.

Oblast leaders Atayev and Mollayev, having enlisted the support of the former republican leadership, used all means to obstruct the control measurement of areas sown to cotton. When this was finally done this year, it came to light that 10,200 hectares sown to cotton had been omitted from plan reports, and that there had been overreporting of 2,148 hectares of alfalfa and 332 hectares of vegetable crops.

As mentioned earlier, the criminal practice of overreporting raw cotton deliveries to the state continued in the oblast during 1984, providing the basis for embezzlement of socialist property which resulted in the state suffering financial damage of more than R10 million. Proceedings regarding this have now been instituted against 26 malicious plunderers of socialist property among leading workers and officials and they have been arrested; 13 of them have been expelled from the party, and party proceedings have been instituted against 20 communists who connived in the plunder of state funds. The course of the investigation revealed that a number of leading oblast workers had accepted bribes to cover up instances of overreporting and embezzlement.

As you can see, comrades, there was systematic overreporting, window dressing, embezzlement, and deception of the state in Tashauz Oblast.

And what about the obkom and Atayev personally? Let us call things by their proper names; their stance on these crimes was an unprincipled, immoral, and therefore antiparty stance. Atayev spoke plenty of highfalutin words from this and other rostrums regarding the importance of the relevant CPSU Central Committee resolutions. But that was hypocrisy, demagoguery. Today Atayev and other Tashauz Oblast leaders must be reminded once more of the CPSU Central Committee directives that leading workers allowing deception of the party and the state or showing a tolerant attitude toward those guilty of overreporting, regardless of their past services, have neither the political nor the moral right to occupy leading positions, and their antiparty and antistate actions are incompatible with continued membership of the CPSU.

Analyzing the situation prevailing in Tashauz Oblast, one automatically asks: What are the causes of the existing shortcomings and omissions? One of the main ones, in our opinion, is the fact that the party obkom, gorkom, and raykoms allowed crude distortions in the implementation of cadres policy.

Leninist principles of work with cadres are violated in Tashauz Oblast party committees. The malpractice was established of selecting workers not for their business or moral and political qualities, but on the grounds of hometown ties and kinship, personal loyalty, and servility, and sometimes even for mercenary reasons. For example, one out of every three leaders of party, soviet, economic, and Komsomol cadres belonging to the party obkom apparatus comes either from Ilyalinskiy Rayon, the home rayon of party Obkom First Secretary Atayev, or from Takhtinskiy Rayon, the home rayon of Klychev, former chief of the party obkom Party Organizational Work Section. Party raykom and gorkom first secretaries and gorispolkom or rayispolkom chairmen were personally selected by party Obkom First Secretary Atayev.

It must be noted that in the overwhelming majority of cases the party obkom and Atayev personally offered stubborn resistance during the solution of questions concerning the release of workers who had compromised themselves. This is clearly visible in the case of Khalov, former first secretary of the Ilyalinskiy party raykom, who came from Atayev's home town and, in 1984, organized and personally participated in overreporting of the fulfillment of the cotton procurement plan, involving many people in criminal activity. This

"leader's" character had been known for a long time. Way back in 1976, while chief of the oblast Agriculture Administration, he received a party penalty for overreporting and for concealing areas sown to agricultural crops on the oblast's farms. But such people suited Atayev. On the obkom's recommendation, Khalov was awarded an order in the very same year. Moreover, he was promoted to the office of obkom section chief. Working people in the oblast repeatedly reported his abuses of official position and trampling of party principles in the selection and placement of cadres. These reports were checked at the party obkom. Every time Obkom Secretaries Atayev and Ilyushkin stated that the reported facts had not been borne out.

It was only at the Central Committee's insistence that Khalov was reprimanded and had his record endorsed for personal immodesty in allocating apartments to his daughters, but even so the party obkom deemed it possible to leave him in the position of raykom first secretary. Following the revelation of massive overreporting in the rayon and breaches of socialist legality, the party obkom relieved Khalov of his duties using the formula "at his own application." Now he has been expelled from the party and arrested, and his case is under investigation.

And this is not an isolated example.

For years now M. Palvanov, first secretary of Tashauz Oblast's Leninskiy party raykom, has failed to set a personal example to other leading workers in the rayon, has abandoned the collegial principle of leadership, has resolved cadre questions personally, has replaced principled discussion of the most important questions with purely formal accounts and reports, and has slackened demandingness toward leading workers. Many of them breach party and state discipline and Soviet laws and allow instances of embezzlement of kolkhoz-cooperative and state property. The result is that the rayon's economy is deteriorating year in, year out. The 5-year plans for the procurement of raw cotton, corn, grapes, and milk were not fulfilled. This led to a significant fall in the incomes of kolkhozes and working people in agriculture. But the party obkom--year in, year out--continued to submit to the bureau reports from Communist M. Palvanov. It urged M. Palvanov, exhorted him, treated him with liberalism and forgiveness. At long last, at the Central Committee's insistence, the party obkom bureau severely reprimanded M. Palvanov last April and endorsed his record for serious defects in work. Even after this, however, he failed to take vigorous measures to overcome the serious shortcomings prevailing in the rayon's economy and social sphere. The rayon's communists will clearly have the last word.

Hometown ties and kinship were also instrumental in cadres' promotion to leading positions in Takhtinskiy and Telmanskiy Rayons.

Examples are infectious, as the saying goes. Following the obkom's example, many cadre questions at rayon level are resolved personally by party committee first secretaries, who disregard the opinion of primary party organizations, communists, and work comrades, and there is no publicity in this work. The Tashauz obkom and other party committees fail to make a prompt and principled evaluation of various misdemeanors and abuses by leading cadres. Party pro-

ceedings were blocked against one in every five party-vetted workers dismissed for negative reasons in the last 5 years.

Until quite recently, someone by the name of Kutlimurad Khodzhanizov worked as chairman of the Tashauz Gorispolkom. Throughout the 5 years he spent in this elected office, this deplorable chairman was more concerned with his own prosperity, placed his close friends and relatives in leading work, acquired two Volga GAZ-24 cars, and helped his acquaintances to obtain apartments in the city out of turn, in breach of housing laws. As for his direct duties, he failed to lead the work of the ispolkom's sections and services, gave no leadership of the city's socioeconomic development, and promoted breaches of housing laws and passport regulations.

An acute shortage is experienced by the oblast as regards the solution of the housing problem. Large numbers of families in the city of Tashauz and in many rayon centers live in temporary housing or huts. Many families are on the waiting list for apartments, and yet construction industry workers failed to commission more than 113,000 square meters of housing during the 5-year plan. And how did the obkom leaders and K. Mollayev react to this, you may ask? No reaction at all. They are more concerned with their own prosperity and wallow in the solution of personal questions. Party Obkom Secretaries Atayev, Lomov, and Shamuratov, taking advantage of their official position, have moved to villas with every modern convenience which considerably exceed the housing area norms set by law, and observe with Olympian detachment the lack of mains drainage of drinking water in the overwhelming majority of homes in the city and the frequent breakdowns in the work of the telephone network and the city's passenger transport.

Following the example of these -- pardon the expression -- "figures," other leaders of the oblast's party and soviet organs commit similar abuses. Yet the obkom and other party committees fail to make a prompt and principled evaluation of the various misdemeanors and abuses by leading cadres.

Liberalism, leniency toward violators, and unprincipledness inflict irreparable damage to the cause of cadre education, erode discipline, and undermine people's faith in the triumph of social justice. Every leader vested with the trust of the party and the people must firmly uphold our moral and ethical principles, display the most rigorous exactingness toward everyone who makes the slightest attempt to evade them, and be particularly demanding toward themselves and their own behavior and actions. Every leader's prestige must rest on the people's approval and support. And those who have lost [the people's] trust, who no longer heed the opinion of the masses, the reasonable arguments of communists, and superior organizations -- those people should not occupy leading positions.

The correct education of cadres and their political and moral tempering are possible only under conditions of principled party criticism and self-criticism. Criticism should not be formal or oblique, as is still often the case. It is very important to point out correctly and sharply everyone's defects and omissions, regardless of any positions of authority. Moreover, as the party emphasizes, there must be no taboo zones for criticism. Shortcomings and mistakes that are not noticed and corrected in good time often spread and

cause serious breakdowns and failures in work. This is clearly visible from the experience of the Tashauz Oblast party organization.

In recent years party committee plenums in the oblast have not heard communists make a single criticism of party obkom secretaries or section chiefs. And this happened because Atayev himself did not encourage the development of criticism and self-criticism in the oblast.

The party obkom failed to restructure its work following the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress and did not secure the necessary breakthrough in the activity of primary party organizations. Most of them still take a passive stand as regards overcoming existing shortcomings. They have not created an atmosphere of demandingness and exactingness, criticism and self-criticism, and enhancement of every communist's militancy.

The party obkom fails to help in ensuring that party organizations implement in practice the [party] statute demand regarding the right to monitor the administration's activity. The practice whereby communists in leading positions report on their performance of their statute and official duties is still not widespread, and the opinion of rank-and-file communists is not taken into account in cadre selection.

One-third of communists in leading positions were punished for shortcomings in their work and personal behavior behind the back of the primary party organization, and, as a rule, the communists were not informed of this.

The Tashauz party obkom makes inadequate use of the power of public opinion in the work to strengthen discipline, enhance cadres' responsibility in the struggle against negative phenomena, and create a healthy moral and political climate.

There can be no justice on the quiet, or truth without publicity [oglaska]. The mass news media have a great role to play in the decisive break with the past. But, as the analysis showed, the party obkom makes unsatisfactory use of the oblast press in the struggle against negative phenomena. The newspapers KOMMUNIZM YELY and TASHAUZSKAYA PRAVDA carry no critical material about instances of overreporting, window dressing, bribery, and demoralization of cadres. Instead, for years on end, the oblast and rayon newspapers have been used to laud Atayev's personality.

All this dulled Atayev's sense of party principledness and demandingness, engendered a desire to inflate his bogus prestige at all costs, and assisted in creating an atmosphere of todayism and self-glorification in the oblast. Displaying political shortsightedness and todayism, party Obkom Secretary Shamuratov, who was in charge of the leadership of ideological work, deliberately curbed the mass news media in creating a broad climate of public opinion against negative phenomena.

Comrades! A great role has to be played by the law enforcement organs in improving the situation in the oblast and in the struggle against overreporting, embezzlement, and bribery. It must be said bluntly, however, that the party

obkom displayed no desire to properly orient the law enforcement organs toward combating criminality, exposing crimes, and organizing preventive work.

There has been no decline in crime in the oblast and, moreover, 1 out of every 9 crimes is committed by someone who already has a criminal record and 1 out of every 15 crimes is committed by groups of people. Crime among minors has increased, and one out of every eight crimes is committed in a state of intoxication. According to data from judicial organs, mercenary crimes in the last 5 years have inflicted on the state damage of approximately R7 million.

The oblast law enforcement organs, and the militia in particular, show no initiative in bringing to light and exposing large-scale concealed embezzlement of socialist property. The Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation apparatus operates unsatisfactorily, and there have been instances when crimes have not been reported. They do not always observe in their work the Leninist principle of the inevitability of punishment for crimes.

Under these circumstances, the detached stance taken by the oblast leaders is intolerable.

All this is the result of the fact that the party obkom is not carrying out the necessary work to strengthen cadres in the law enforcement organs. They still include quite a few incompetent, unprincipled, and dishonest workers who frequently abuse their official position for mercenary purposes. Instances of collusion by individual staffers with criminal elements have occurred along with breaches of labor discipline, negligence toward duties, bribe-taking, and other official misdemeanors bringing into disrepute the lofty calling of workers in law enforcement organs.

Attention must also be drawn to the numerous instances of interference by party and soviet workers in the operational work of investigative organs and attempts to block criminal proceedings against persons who have committed crimes. This has acquired a very ugly nature in Tashauz Oblast.

Last year Comrade Yuldashev, senior agent of the Tashauzskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Section, brought to light a case involving the acceptance of large bribes by one of the rayon's leading workers. The party raykom demanded from Comrade Yuldashev an explanation as to why he had failed to coordinate his investigation with party organs. The criminal proceedings for bribery were halted, but a number of charges were made against Comrade Yuldashev on the basis of an anonymous report and he was expelled from the CPSU by a party of an anonymous report and he was expelled from the CPSU by a party raykom bureau resolution. And the party obkom confirmed this resolution without any investigation.

This year, too, there have been numerous instances of Tashauz Oblast party and soviet organs failing to cooperate with internal affairs organs in the investigation of cases involving overreporting of raw cotton crop figures and the obstruction of criminal proceedings against leading workers guilty of it.

It seems to us that responsibility for the exceptionally grave situation which has developed must be born not only by oblast leaders Atayev and Mollayev, but also by the republic's Minister of Internal Affairs N.A. Ovezov and republican Prosecutor A.I. Kharchenko. Tashauz Oblast enjoyed special attention from Bekiyev, chief of the Central Committee Administrative Organs Section. One-third of all his official travel was to the oblast, and he personally selected and placed administrative organ cadres, often against the opinions of workers in the section. I have already spoken about the result of all this.

The party obkom and the oblispolkom show disregard and indifference for the needs of the working masses. Residents of many rayons are unable to satisfy their needs as regards consumer services, municipal services, and transport facilities. There is an acute shortage of children's preschool institutions, and for this reason a large proportion of women cannot participate in social production. There are particularly large numbers of complaints and criticisms from the population about the work of trade and public catering enterprises. An inspection showed that in the oblast there are interruptions in the sale of an adequate range of basic essentials--soap, matches, bread, farinaceous and semolina products, fats, and others--and breaches of the rules of Soviet trade occur on a mass scale. The 850 inspections carried out in the first 9 months of this year alone revealed 434 instances of breaches of trade rules. The most frequent violations involve the swindling of customers via the giving of short measure, short weight, and short change.

There are quite a few shortcomings in the work of consumer services for the population, particularly in the countryside, where 34 farms are altogether without consumer service enterprises. The volume of services rendered per resident in Tashauz Oblast amounts to R24.5 and in some rayons does not exceed R7-8, against a republican average of R26 and an average of R37.5 for the country. The quality of services rendered at consumer service centers remains poor and there are numerous instances of jobs being carried out without invoices or order forms being prepared and of payment being obtained from customers for services which have not been performed.

The numerous statements from working people on these matters received at the Tashauz party obkom and oblispolkom and at local party and soviet organs are often examined purely formally, empty promises are made, and no measures are taken. People are forced to appeal to higher organs.

Comrades! Summing up what I have said above, I want to emphasize once more that over a number of years the organizational and political work done by the oblast party organization has failed to meet party demands. Serious shortcomings and grave errors were committed in the development of the economy and culture and in people's education. Words and slogans were not followed by an active struggle to fulfill national economic plans, solve social problems, and make efficient use of the existing potential. Overreporting, window dressing, abuses of official position, bribery, and embezzlement of socialist property flourished.

This led to the moral degeneration of cadres and a marked deterioration of the situation in labor collectives; in many collectives failures to fulfill plans and pledges, absenteeism, drunkenness, and breaches of the law became ordinary phenomena.

Blame for all this lies wholly with obkom bureau members--Secretaries Atayev, Shamuratov, and Lomov, Oblispolkom Chairman Mollayev, and former Obkom Second Secretary Ilyushkin--who, while paying lipservice to implementing the party's policy and decisions, in reality worked contrary to its demands. Having committed crude political errors and distortions of the party line, they have compromised themselves as Central Committee members through their actions and have placed themselves outside the party.

Comrades! We have cited cases of negative phenomena and the degradation of many cadres in Tashauz Oblast. Serious shortcomings in work by party, soviet, and law enforcement organs to eradicate negative phenomena also exist in other oblasts in the republic.

Measures have not been taken everywhere to eradicate overreporting and to block channels for embezzlement of the people's assets, whose number is growing year by year. The number of instances of squandering, shortfalls, and abuses of official position is not decreasing. Some 525 such cases have been recorded in the republic in the current year alone. Central Statistical Administration organs established instances of overreporting, concealment, and inaccuracy of reported data at one out of every three facilities they inspected.

We hope that the leaders of party, soviet, and economic organs who are present here will learn from the mistakes in Tashauz Oblast and will do everything possible to accelerate the process of restructuring.

I want to emphasize in particular that the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, each of its members personally, and primarily I as first secretary of the Central Committee bear full responsibility for all the shortcomings and major omissions which we have reported to the plenum today. Especially in the light of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's statement at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum regarding the role of party committee first secretaries: "It is they," he said, "who must set the tone in work and display breadth of political horizons, depth of understanding of tasks, organizational abilities, lofty responsibility, a critical approach in evaluations, and party-mindedness in the loftiest sense of the word. Only then will it be possible to expect successful results and a creative atmosphere in the rayon, city, oblast, or republic."

The Central Committee Bureau members did not always examine pressing questions with due principledness. We often kept silent. We kept silent at times when we should have displayed firmness. We kept silent because we were unwilling to spoil relations. It is we who often hold a different opinion at heart but cannot bring ourselves to express it frankly at sessions. Our work suffers from a shortage of criticism and self-criticism, and in some cases of sincerity, especially when solving cadre questions.

The Central Committee Bureau's activity at times lacks objective and critical analysis of the state of affairs, and the proper level of exactingness toward leading workers in the republic has not always been ensured. Central Committee members were not always informed of the activity of the Secretariat and Bureau at Central Committee plenums. Major and serious shortcomings develop as a

result of all these manifestations of our unprincipledness, inefficiency, and liberalism. They are automatically transmitted to lower-ranking party committees.

The Central Committee Bureau will draw the necessary conclusions from what has come to light in Tashauz Oblast today. This applies primarily to the unswerving implementation of cadre policy. As demanded by the CPSU Central Committee, cadres will be assessed on the basis of their political, professional, and moral qualities and, of course, practical results. We will assert in all sectors of economic and cultural building the Leninist style of work, organization, and businesslike efficiency, and will create an atmosphere of high exactingness and creative attitude toward work.

Every party obkom, gorkom, and raykom, the primary party organizations, the soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs, and the ministries and departments must analyze in depth and from critical positions the state of affairs with regard to all the questions that have been raised, must bring existing shortcomings to light, and must shake up everything that has accumulated over the years. The culprits must be publicly named and the activity of the party committee, bureau, and other collegial organs must be evaluated self-critically. Communists must be invited to a frank conversation so that they can name the guilty persons and speak self-critically of their own shortcomings, omissions, and errors. It must be stressed that the admission of errors will be perceived as a sincere desire to eliminate them. At the same time, any attempt to conceal errors from the party and the comrades will be subjected to the strictest party evaluation and strict measures will be taken.

It can be assumed that there will be some elements who will attempt to take advantage of our discussion today and will try to slander the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee's line by spreading all sorts of rumors and conjectures and to frighten and disinform certain honest people who, maybe, are still not fully conversant with the processes occurring in the republic. Central Committee members and party committees must deal a resolute rebuff to all demagogues, slanderers, and blackmailers and must explain to the people the truth about the negative phenomena that have occurred. We think that we will be correctly understood and supported in rectifying the shortcomings.

Today, at this crucial stage of history, in the process of fundamental changes in many spheres of society, there is a particularly topical and current sound for communists and the Republican Party aktiv in Lenin's behest to live always in the thick of the masses, to maintain constant ties with the people, to serve them, to reflect people's thoughts in policy, and to rouse people to implement this policy. As Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said at his meeting with the Krasnodar Kray party aktiv, today we need these simple but profound Leninist formulas as much as the air that we breathe, as the main lever for rousing society for restructuring.

The interests of the Soviet society, party, and state must be placed above all else in the activity of every party organization and every leader. Lofty party and state discipline, principled criticism and self-criticism, organization and order, modesty and businesslike efficiency everywhere and in everything--this must be the immutable principle of life for every working person in the republic.

This task is certainly within the capability of the Turkmen Communist Party. It has solved complex and responsible tasks in the past. The revealing [obnazhenny] and impartial discussion at the plenum and the fulfillment of the resolutions adopted by it will enable the party organizations to raise all work to a higher and qualitatively new level in line with the party's modern demands.

The crucial stage at which we find ourselves today and the interests of the country, the party, and the people demand the implacable eradication of everything negative and alien. And there is no power capable of diverting us from this path.

The Republican Party organization is a militant detachment of the CPSU. Rallied even more closely around the CPSU's Leninist Central Committee, it will persistently mobilize cadres and all working people to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 23d Turkmen Communist Party Congress. Acting in a principled party fashion, consistently and purposefully, we will cope with the difficult and responsible tasks facing us.

/8918

CSO: 1830/134

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

PRAVDA REBUTS UK MAGAZINE CHARGES ON MEDIA OPENNESS

PM131545 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 86 First Edition p 4

[B. Orekhov article: "Letter From St James Street"]

[Text] One day the office messenger brought a telegram. It was sent to PRAVDA from the British Isles or, to be more precise, from St James Street in London, where the journal THE ECONOMIST has its office. The telegram was signed by Mr Brian Beedham, its chief foreign editor, who informed us that he had sent a letter to our address by express post on 20 October with a full translation into Russian in the hope that PRAVDA would publish this letter. Then the promised "express post" actually arrived, containing the original of the letter on ECONOMIST notepaper and its translation into Russian.

We will acquaint readers with the original of the letter, not even correcting the linguistic inaccuracies made by the translator in London:

"Sir,

"Vitaliy Gan was quite justified (PRAVDA, 10 October) in his criticism of the Reagan administration for attempting to mislead the American press on the Libyan issue. On the same day my newspaper called the action taken by the administration wrong and unreasonable, even 'un-American.' But, without doubt, the most interesting point is not the actual attempt by the administration to give out false information (from time to time every government is exposed to this temptation, including your government), but the fact that the American press was able to discover the deception and angrily expose it without delay.

"This is possible when the press and television are independent of the government and of the party which leads it. In this case journalists can freely conduct their own investigations, even when the government is opposed to this. They frequently find officials prepared to disclose what others would prefer to keep secret (as was the case with the disinformation on Libya). And no party or government can prevent them from printing what they have brought to light—as this incident once again confirms.

"We in the West are following with great interest the policy of openness conducted by M. S. Gorbachev in the information sphere. But I maintain that total openness is impossible if the right to independent criticism and the possibility of multiple verification are not ensured. Everything said by any

government--or, for that matter, by any newspaper--must be open to verification and critical analysis by people who are not connected with either the government or the newspaper; in other words, open to 'on the spot checks.'

"I hope you are in agreement with me on this.

"Yours sincerely,

"Brian Beedham, chief foreign editor, THE ECONOMIST."

This is the letter we received from London. The history behind it is as follows.

On 11 October a highly provocative article appeared in THE ECONOMIST under the long heading 'What's Fit to Print. In Russia, That's Still a Lot Short of All the News--Despite the Welcome Glasnost ABOUT That Submarine.' But it is not a question of the long title but the clearly unfriendly and malevolent nature of the article in THE ECONOMIST. Feigning approval of the processes to restructure social life taking place in our country, its author casts aspersions on the concept of openness which, in reality, is becoming more broadly and confidently established in all our affairs.

In this article THE ECONOMIST promised its readers that it would undertake a devilishly cunning--in its opinion--move: Send a letter to Moscow that would cause panic in PRAVDA. It would not be able to dispute the letter and so would refuse to print it. This, they would say, is proof, dear readers....

Meanwhile, the letter from THE ECONOMIST is interesting and revealing in many respects. To a certain extent, for example, it fills an "information gap" among Soviet readers regarding the ethical principles and norms acceptable to the "free press" in the West, of which THE ECONOMIST is itself a part. Strange though it may seem, judging by the published letter its venerable editors quite accept lies and deception in propaganda in accordance with the thesis that, quote, "everyone lies."

One would think that the words mentioned in passing that "the most interesting point is not the actual attempt by the administration to give out false information" can hardly suit ECONOMIST readers or decent people in Britain in general. But for the author of the letter this "attempt," it seems, is something normal and commonplace--in short, one of many such attempts.

But really, is this so surprising? After all, the U.S. Administration and, with its "blessing," certain gentlemen in Whitehall were able to turn the events at the Soviet-American meeting in Reykjavik upside down and present them in a totally distorted form. But this is more provocative than the case with disinformation on Libya.

Indeed, is it worth being surprised when a public opinion poll recently carried out in the United States by the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES showed that Americans are used to their government lying. As many as 53 percent of those questioned said that "the administration tells the truth only in certain cases."

and 9 percent of the opinion that it virtually never tells the truth. Indeed!

But surely the postulate regarding the "temptation to give out false information, a temptation to which every government is exposed from time to time" is questionable? Of course, if Mr Beedham is applying the word "every" to Her Majesty's successive governments, that is his affair, the cards are in his hands, so to speak. But as far as our own country's government is concerned, one can only wonder where Mr Beedham obtained his information? It would appear to be exactly the kind of false information under discussion.

Mr Beedham is in raptures over the fact that the American press has discovered further deception by the administration. But how many acts of deception have not been discovered by the press across the ocean? Let us recall, for example, the years of the United States' ignominious war in Vietnam. The Tonkin resolution. American use of chemical weapons. Herbicides and defoliants. Song My. Napalm. When and how did all this come known to the world? Where were the American journalists with their "free, independent investigations" then?

And in Britain itself? What would happen, for example, if someone in THE ECONOMIST editorial office should take it into his head to conduct a "free and independent investigation" into the finances of Evelyn de Rothschild, for example, or someone like him, and check his bank accounts, tax payments, and so forth. What would come of this?

"The independence of the press and television from the government and the party," "the freedom of journalists." It sounds fine. But surely, Mr Beedham, in your country—and, perhaps, particularly in your country—newspapers are bought and sold, rubbish and all, as they say, lock, stock, and barrel, if you will excuse the coarse expression, that is, with the entire editorial staff thrown in?

In the last 5 years alone publications such as THE TIMES, THE SUNDAY TIMES, THE DAILY MIRROR, and THE DAILY EXPRESS have been auctioned off and bought up by wealthier newspaper monopolists, and the largest of the so-called serious daily newspapers, THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, has virtually changed hands. It goes without saying that in almost every case the change of owner has inevitably led to the replacement of editors and other senior newspaper personnel: the "musical ear and taste" of those ordering the music does differ, if only a little. Thus, since THE TIMES was bought by the newspaper magnate R. Murdoch in 1981 there have already been three editors, each one proving to be more right-wing in his views than his predecessor. And after this we are supposed to believe that newspaper personnel who are bought and sold are independent in their actions and their evaluation of events?!

"No party or government can prevent newspaper disclosures from being printed." This also sounds fine. But let us recall in this connection the statement made literally the other day by N. Tebbit, chairman of the British Conservative Party, about the "investigation" by Tory party experts in connection with the BBC's coverage of the Libyan events. Not without reason A Milne, general director of the BBC corporation, described it as an attempt to intimidate the

BBC, while N. Kinnock, leader of the Labor Party, has termed it "blatant interference in the corporation's affairs."

At the same time, we would like to suggest a simple thing to Mr Beedham. He himself is hardly likely to be able to read Russian. And so maybe he should ask someone—perhaps the very same person who translated his letter to PRAVDA into Russian—to look through the files of our newspaper for the last 2 years, for example. In this respect we recommend that particular attention be paid to rubrics such as "PRAVDA Has Spoken. What Has Been Done?" and "After Critic's ...". We are sure that Mr Beedham will find a considerable amount of material that is both new and interesting to him: As readers know, our newspaper has recently published a considerable number of articles, large and small, disclosing serious shortcomings, abuses, and deviations from the norms of life accepted in our country in various spheres—the economy, culture, social life, and the services sphere. The result of these PRAVDA articles, which we rightly term truly free and independent investigations, has been the most serious, strict measures with regard to those guilty and the replacement of both state and party leaders, some of whom held very high positions.

But here is the question: Is there a law in Britain or any other capitalist country enjoining state and public organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations to examine citizens' proposals, statements, and complaints within 1 month, and those not requiring further study and verification immediately, within 15 days? In our country such a law does exist and every Soviet citizen is aware of this. This law and the deadlines stipulated by it apply to speeches and to items published in the press concerned with citizens' proposals and complaints. Surely this is a clear example of openness? And the flood of readers' letters to PRAVDA and other newspapers! A considerable number of them are critical. The Soviet press has always been strong by virtue of its firm ties with the masses. PRAVDA receives approximately half a million letters each year from readers, many of which are used in the newspaper. This is another example of openness for you.

But now let us return to the item published in THE ECONOMIST on 11 October. These are its concluding lines: "Here is a suggestion for seeing how far Mr Gorbachev will let glasnost go. Like other Western newspapers, THE ECONOMIST receives and quite often prints letters from Russians who disagree with us. Getting an equivalent right of reply in the Soviet press is formidably difficult. We shall presumably soon find ourselves disagreeing with something in PRAVDA. We propose to send it a short and courteous letter saying why we disagree, for publication: with a copy of his article. We will tell you what happens."

First we will deal with the first part of this paragraph, THE ECONOMIST's suggestion for seeing how far they will "let openness go" in our country. If one disregards its sarcastic tone, the proposal is, on the whole, a sensible one. We also invite this respected journal to carefully follow life in the Soviet Union in order to satisfy itself with every passing day that openness is developing in every sphere. And, for THE ECONOMIST to have a better understanding of our position, let us explain that we cannot conceive of the development of democracy or the struggle against bureaucracy without openness,

And increasing this openness is a matter of principle for us. The need to call a spade a spade and tell people the truth about what is happening in our country, what is not happening, and why is, from our point of view, an indispensable condition for strengthening the ties between the popular masses and the party and increasing trust in party policy.

THE ECONOMIST is clearly intimating in the passage quoted that there is a possibility of a barrier being placed in the way of openness in our country—at least, this is clearly what the West expects. We are forced to disappoint the journal: This will not happen. Even when some people voice concern in our country—are there not too many shortcomings "splashed" in the press and in speeches and will this not harm our common cause?—the Communist Party replies. It will not do any harm. On the contrary, it will help us to be rid of these shortcomings.

And as far as the final part of the passage we have cited from THE ECONOMIST article is concerned, its "short and courteous letter" is in PRAVDA and you have just been acquainted with it. We now wait with interest to see what THE ECONOMIST tells its readers as promised.

/9274

CSO: 1800/141

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

PRAVDA REVIEWS BOOK ON HISTORICAL BATTLE AGAINST NATIONALISM

PM121109 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 86 First Edition p 2

[Book review by Academician A. Samsonov and Doctor of Historical Sciences I. Anoshkin: "In the Interests of the Peoples"]

[Text] One of the outstanding achievements of socialism which has enriched world civilization is the solution of the nationalities question in our country and the consolidation of the inextinguishable friendship of the peoples of the USSR. The book under review [Footnote] [A.V. Likholat. "Nationalism--the Enemy of the Working People. An Analysis of the Historical Experience of the Struggle Against Nationalism" (Natsionalizm--vrag trudyashchikhsya. Analiz istoricheskogo opyta borby protiv natsionalizma). Moscow, Mysl Publishing House, 1986, 350 pages] describes the implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy and the party's ideological and political struggle against the ideology of nationalism. The chronologically broad framework of the study has enabled its author to create an impressive panorama of the struggle of V.I. Lenin and his supporters for the implementation of the ideas and principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

The distinctive feature of the book is its profound analysis of the fundamental theoretical principles of the party's nationalities policy and the light it throws on the significance of the creative development of Lenin's teaching concerning the nationalities question as applied to specific historical conditions. The book points out the social class essence of nationalism and opportunism in their various forms and manifestations and generalizes the historical experience of party organizations' work in exposing nationalism, chauvinism, Zionism, and so forth.

Drawing on extensive factual material, the essence of Lenin's thesis on the ideological and political kinship of nationalism and opportunism and their overlapping nature is revealed. The author arrives at the correct conclusion that without a resolute struggle against opportunist trends in the Russian and the international revolutionary movement, without the ideological and political rout of Trotskiyism, right-wing and "left-wing" opportunisms, and without the eradication of nationalist deviations inside the party, the unity of the party's ranks could not have been strengthened and the victory of Great October, the building of socialism in the USSR, and the defense of its gains against the encroachments of international imperialism would not have been possible.

The chapter devoted to the rout of the fascist invaders and their agents during the Great Patriotic War is interesting. The nationwide nature of the struggle against the occupation forces and their nationalist accomplices in the enemy's rear, and also the elimination of the nationalist rabble in the Western parts of the country, are depicted convincingly.

The book examines the reasons for the survival of vestiges of nationalism and analyzes party organizations' work to eradicate vestiges of nationalism and parochialism.

The conclusion, for instance, that a close connection exists between nationalist and religious views and that it is necessary consistently to combat vestiges of reactionary thinking in everyday life is very topical.

The author especially draws attention to the importance of enhanced vigilance with respect to manifestations of alien ideology and national narrow-mindedness and of educating Soviet people in the spirit of loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the consistent implementation of the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism. Class feeling and political vigilance are effective weapons against the enemies of peace and socialism.

/8918

CSO: 1830/136

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION SEEN AS KEY TO RESTRUCTURING

PM051101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 86 First Edition pp 2-3

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Vasilyev: "Democracy and Restructuring"]

[Text] Considering the fate of democracy under socialism on the eve of the October Revolution, V.I. Lenin wrote: "Taken separately, no democracy will give socialism, but in life democracy will never be 'taken separately,' rather it will be 'taken together,' will exert its own influence on the economy, be conducive to its transformation, be itself subject to the influence of economic development, and so forth. This is the dialectic of living history" (COMPLETE COLLECTED WORKS, Vol 33, p 79). The truth of this Lenin idea is confirmed by the practice of socialist creation. The establishment of social ownership of the means of production has ensured the necessary economic and social prerequisites of genuine democracy, individual freedom, and the working masses' participation in the management of state and social affairs. At the same time, the functioning of the integrated system of democratic institutions created in the process of building a new society has had and continues to have a powerful influence on the successful solution of economic and social tasks.

This "dialectic of living history" is particularly perceptible and significant in the present period. The deeper the socialist transformations, the more people must be involved in them--not on a formal but on a real basis, on the basis of an interested, concerned approach to resolving all issues on the agenda. Today's restructuring process is truly revolutionary in nature. It is connected with fundamental changes throughout the entire system of social relations and in people's minds and psychology. That is why a most important component of this process is the development of democracy. The consistent, steady confirmation of democracy as a political and moral value and as our society's structure is the very essence of the restructuring process.

The core of the theoretical concept of the development of democracy put forward and substantiated by the 27th CPSU Congress is the idea of increasingly full implementation of the people's socialist self-management. The concept of socialist self-management is the key to analyzing the nonantagonistic contradiction that objectively exists between the socialist state as an association [assotriyatsiya] of all the people and the state as an administrative apparatus. Resolving this contradiction presupposes real,

effective participation by the working people and their collectives and organizations in the fulfillment of administrative functions.

On an organizational plane, as is well known, these functions include the disclosure of social needs and interests, the elaboration and approval of decisions, the organization of their execution, regulation, accounting, and control. The political, economic, social, and educational effect of the masses' participation in the fulfillment of each of these functions is extremely great. At the same time one cannot fail to see the determining significance of the function of drawing up and approving decisions. Broader, more active participation by the masses in the fulfillment of this function through every link in the political system and through state and public organs, as well as directly through representative institutions, is one of the most important conditions of developing the people's socialist self-management. There is considerable potential to improve practice in taking these decisions, and its utilization is a vital aspect of the restructuring process.

Let us take the soviets, for example--the political foundation of the USSR and the main link in the people's self-management, combining the social and state principles of our social structure. According to the Constitution, soviet sessions must resolve most important issues relating to economic and social development. This is actually done. But in a number of cases it is done formally. Sometimes draft decisions are submitted by executive organs for deputies to discuss, but they are already in a final form and not amenable to amendment. And so the role played by the people's deputies is reduced to mere approval of these decisions. What is more, it is not infrequently the case that very substantial issues are decided not by soviets but by their executive committees.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Party Leadership of Soviets" defines party committees' obligation to create the necessary conditions for more fully realizing the democratic principles of soviet activity, above all to enhance the role of soviet sessions, to eradicate excessive organization and ostentation in the holding of these sessions as well as unwarranted regulation as to when a session is convened and how long it is to last, and to strive to ensure that these sessions comprehensively and freely discuss issues relating to local life and that there is opportunity to compare alternative draft decisions.

The party is no less determinedly opposed to the practice whereby social organization apparatuses take over--without good reason--from real, self-motivated action by the masses and their elected organs. Unfortunately, it is still often the case that the draft resolutions and decisions of trade union and Komsomol conferences and meetings are drawn up in the quiet of offices and consequently commit the sin of being excessively optimistic in their appraisal of the state of affairs. These public forums frequently proceed according to a prewritten "scenario," the discussions run smoothly, criticism and self-criticism are dealt out in measured doses, and the investigation of shortcomings is either superficial or totally absent. All this, of course, by no

means promotes the development of activeness in the members of mass organizations and must be overcome.

Effective participation by the working people in resolving issues relating to state and public life is essential at all levels and in every cell of the social organism. It is connected with enabling every level to exercise the right to resolve its own characteristic problems "to the maximum" and in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. This is precisely the object of the recent resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers on measures to further enhance the role and increase the responsibility of local soviets in the task of speeding up socioeconomic development. It essentially strengthens the positions of republic, kray, oblast, okrug, rayon, and city organs of power in ensuring territories' comprehensive development and broadens their powers in organizing consumer goods production, in developing the services sphere, intersector production units, capital construction, and conservation activity, and also in developing the social and production infrastructure.

Self-management exerts the optimum influence on economic and social processes when it acts as a unified, integral system. But self-management as a macrosystem grows on the basis of developing self-management principles "from within"--at enterprises, institutions, organizations, and in all labor collectives. This means that the conditions must be created for broadening democracy in these "base" cells. The introduction of financial autonomy and the collective contract, the transfer of enterprises and associations to a system of financial viability and self-financing, and the restructuring of the wages system will contribute greatly to resolving this task. At the same time, new steps are needed to overcome the cumbersome system of numerous coordination procedures which impede independent, enterprising actions by enterprise and association collectives and seriously limit their potential for self-management.

Of course, the broadening of participation by working people and their collectives and organizations in drawing up and making decisions binding on all members of society or on individual groups within it should not be interpreted as a process of increasing the number of decisions taken overall. What we are talking about here is not the quantity but the quality of these acts and ways to step up their democratic content (with the development of all-people's control over the implementation of what has been planned, of course). Nowadays the value and validity of decisions must be increasingly determined by the degree to which the working masses are involved in elaborating them. A vital role in this respect must be played by broadening the range of issues which state organs can resolve only with the prior consent of the corresponding social organizations and by giving the latter the right to halt the implementation of decisions in a number of instances.

Also on the agenda is the task of improving the comprehensive form of direct democracy represented by the election of organs of state power. It is hard to foresee the specific nature of the changes that will be made to the electoral practice and system, but their essence is presumably clear: to free elections

of their veneer of formalism and excessive organization and fully reveal their self-management nature. This applies not only to the procedure for nominating and discussing candidates and for voting but also to the drawing up of electoral mandates during election campaigns. At present, in a number of cases, the mandates are "drawn up" by executive committees and then put to candidate deputies on behalf of the voters. They are frequently copied from economic and social development plans or contain targets which, for various reasons, were not included in the plan but which, in the opinion of apparatus workers, are necessary to a rayon, city, or oblast. The voters simply fulfill the role of extras. What is more, this often is done with good intentions. The leaders of a city or rayon firmly believe that they are protecting the population's interests, without giving credit to the idea that this same population could have other, more vital interests which it can independently express. In such cases the apparatus continues to act "for the working people" but not "through the working people."

The role played by the Communist Party and by its leadership of the processes of developing democracy in the development of the intricate complex of social relations connected with broadening the masses' participation in management of social and state affairs is an extremely great and responsible one. As the ruling party, it does not act as a substitute for other organizations incorporated in the socialist political system but operates through them. This is a very important organizational and political guarantee of increased independence and initiative on the part of state and social formations and of the strengthening of self-management principles in their functioning.

While emphasizing the political nature of party leadership, the CPSU statutes require party organizations and communists working in state and social organizations to strive to ensure that these organizations fully exercise their constitutional powers and statutory rights and responsibilities and that they involve working people broadly in management and in the solution of political, economic, and social issues. Under present conditions this presupposes increasing the attention paid by party committees and communists to the relationships between elected state and social organs and their apparatus and improving party leadership of the apparatus not only directly but also through elected organs and party groups set up within them.

We cannot limit ourselves to this, of course. A subject of particular party concern is the style of officials' daily contacts with workers, kolkhoz members, and representatives of the intelligentsia. Any increase in the masses' political and working activeness--that is, the achievement of the main, intrinsic purpose of the restructuring process--largely depends on precisely this. That is why the party strives to cultivate in its cadres the need to consult with people, to listen to them and hear what they say, and teaches them how to act in the conditions of broader democracy. It is a very complex process. It is a question of altering one's thinking and overcoming stereotypes.

There are still people in the administrative apparatus who stick to the so-called "business" style, are inclined to give commands and indulge in naked

administration, and are little concerned with involving the masses in state affairs. As far as they are concerned, the only right decisions are those drawn up by the apparatus, while democratic procedure is a form which must be observed but yields nothing in practice. It is no accident that, while the aforementioned resolution on enhancing the role of soviets was being drawn up, the corresponding central organs received proposals from some apparatus officials to reduce the number of soviet sessions. The sessions "prevent them from working." They are irritated by people trying to interfere in administrative affairs, which "have nothing to do with them." These are the bureaucrats who, as M. I. Kalinin accurately observed, believe that it is not the apparatus that exists for the population, but the population that exists for the apparatus.

One must not, of course, underestimate the role of the professional apparatus, particularly in conditions where social and economic ties have become extremely complicated. Without this apparatus competent management would be impossible. But under socialist conditions, where the apparatus serves the people, the masses' participation in its affairs is an indispensable condition of a scientific approach to the fulfillment of administrative functions. How, to what degree, and at which levels this participation should occur is a particular problem (the solution to this problem is, incidentally, one of the urgent tasks facing the social sciences). The objective need for such participation, however, is indisputable.

A group of sociologists quite recently conducted a survey among leading workers in state and social organs in Stavropol Kray. The task was set, in particular, of studying officials' attitudes to social initiative and various forms of popular participation in administrative matters. And what transpired from this? The majority of officials are interested in strengthening contacts with the population. At the same time, when assessing the real state of affairs, a significant proportion of those questioned expressed dissatisfaction with the degree of civic participation in management in the sectors of work with which citizens are entrusted. What are the reasons for this? A total of 28.2 percent pointed out the formal attitude taken by apparatus workers to the population's participation in management, 19.1 percent indicated the ineffectual use made of the masses' social activeness by this apparatus, and 15.7 percent pointed out that people are ill-informed about the state of affairs and the potential of local state and social organs.

We can draw an unequivocal conclusion from all this. It is obvious that we must continue to increase openness. How a leader works, how he serves the people and the party, how ably and consistently he uses democratic forms and methods--people must be informed of all this. The effect of officials' efforts on the development of labor collectives, rayons, cities, oblasts, and republics--the population must be informed of this too. Not in order to take this information "into consideration" but to make valid, practical criticism regarding weaknesses and shortcomings and really take part in eliminating them. We must not be afraid of the democratization process," M. S. Gorbachev said at the meeting with the Krasnodar Kray party aktiv. "Not only will it not weaken our society--on the contrary, it will make it stronger. Not only

will it not impair discipline and order. On the contrary, improvement will proceed on a conscious basis."

The time demands that cadres in the administrative apparatus be made more responsible for implementing the party line aimed at restructuring and democratizing all social life. I believe that when certificating cadres it is important to take into account, among their professional qualities as workers, how democratic they are, that is, how likely they are to show respect for people, pay attention to their needs, and strive to meet and consult with them and rely on collective opinion.

Every one of us must feel himself to be master of his country--that is the essence of the current restructuring process. However, not much will be achieved in this respect by appeals alone. The social passivity of a certain proportion of the population can only be overcome by cultivating in these people an interest in being master. And this interest arises and is sustained when a person is conscious of a real return on his participation in state and social matters and can see its practical outcome, its results. That is why the party is so irreconcilably opposed to any manifestation of bureaucracy and formalism in the use of democratic institutions.

The colossal amount of work done by the party with the aim of developing democracy has many aspects. It is directly connected with creating the conditions for citizens to be able to fully and consistently exercise their political, socioeconomic, and personal rights and freedoms. Further reinforcing the guarantees of these rights and freedoms is, of course, a topical problem. At the same time, democracy is not total license or anarchy. It is realized in a unity of rights and responsibilities. And it is precisely in the unity of both its aspects that it has a beneficial effect on economic and social processes and quickens their process. We can and must debate, argue, and collectively discuss the most diverse problems at every level of management. But when a decision has been taken it must be put into practice--strictly, in full, and within the time stipulated.

As organization and discipline under socialism are, by their very nature, self-organization and self-discipline, the process by which they are strengthened is deeply democratic. Taking part in decisionmaking at all levels of management means ultimately applying these decisions to ourselves, regulating our lives with their help, and not only ensuring that others fulfill them but primarily making sure that we fulfill them directly ourselves. Work--aware, selfless work, determining the fate of our plans and intentions and the success of our progress--this is what is now required of everyone.

Democracy for everyone presupposes that each and every one of us is responsible for its development. Responsible for ensuring that the masses' broad participation in state and social matters is oriented toward achieving the economic and social aims necessary to the people, the party, and the state. An active position in life means being aware of our social duty and our responsibilities. It is precisely this kind of attitude that creates the only reliable base for realizing the principles of socialist democracy in the best possible way.

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RELIGION

ANTI-SOVIET ACTIVITIES OF BELORUSSIAN CLERICS

Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 8 Jul 86 pp 2-3

[Article, published under the rubric "Clericalism and Anticommunism," by A. Bazhko and V. Pepyalyayew: "Who Is Grazing 'Trojan Horses'?"]

[Text] "Soviet citizens are fairly well acquainted with the actual value of various prophets and prophecies and have a good understanding of the actual aims of subversive activities on the part of leading monopolist forces," it was stated at the 27th CPSU Congress. "But we must not forget that 'psychological warfare' is a struggle for people's minds, for their philosophical outlook, for their social and spiritual reference points as well as those which guide them in their daily lives."

The sinister role played by clerical anticommunism in total psychological warfare, its objectives and means have been discussed in this newspaper in pieces by Ales Bazhko and Valyantsin Pepyalyayew (ZVYAZDA, 1 January, 10 January, 12 January, 16 January, 26 May, 31 May, 7 June, 14 June 1985, etc).

We offer our readers new facts from these journalists' files.

A truly sinister role in the anticommunist hue and cry is played by clerical anticommunism -- a specific sociopolitical phenomenon engendered by the capitalist system. The fact is that all kinds of "Trojan horses" are feeding in its corrals and pastures -- traitors to their peoples. Belburnatsy -- Belorussian bourgeois nationalists of various contingents and shadings -- comprise a special herd among these "Trojan horses." Painstakingly made up to appear as "sincere patriots," "friends" and "defenders" of the Belorussian people, they diligently toil away in their lickspittling positions, while some of them have even managed to push their way into the upper echelons of functionaries of the "holy inquisition" and the CIA, becoming staff inspectors (read: spies and informers) of the Vatican, but they have not become better persons in a biological or social respect.

It is no secret that even some left-leaning bourgeois and religious figures are now looking askance at them, particularly following publication of a documentary book by noted jurist John Loftus entitled "The Secret of

Belorussia," in which the author states quite explicitly that all diehard renegades from the Belorussian Central Council [BCC] and the Belorussian National Council [BNC] who have been selected by the bourgeois-clerical intelligence services are rabid enemies of mankind and garden-variety Belorussian-speaking Nazis. This is precisely what John Loftus called them, and in our opinion one must agree with this felicitous, apt designation. The fact is that no earthly or divine elixirs or shampoos have been able to whiten these "black nags." Nor could it be otherwise: each and every one of them emits a persistent odor of revanchist Fascist tar and a poisonous "bouquet" of cosmetically perfumed aromas of imperialist zoos.

Let us take, for example, certain "saddle horses" with whom we are acquainted, from Belorussian Bourgeois Nationalist stables abroad, across the English Channel, in the United States, Canada, France, Belgium, West Germany, and elsewhere. Carrying out the instructions of those who provide them sustenance, they promptly shed their sheep's clothing and openly besmirch their homeland and their fellow countrymen, although they continue to call themselves "sincere Belorussian patriots." One of these "patriots" has recently attracted particular attention -- Alyaksandr Buchko, alias Nadsan, a secular and ecclesiastical representative of the so-called "Belorussians across the English Channel." As already noted, he has assumed all the positions of his patron and protector, the deceased Cheslav Sipovich, with the rank of general in the Order of (Maryanaw) and a paid CIA agent, and, strengthening his hand in these positions, has declared himself an expert in the areas of Belorussian history and culture.

An interesting bit of information on this "holy disseminator of the history and culture of the Beloruthenians" appeared in the little clerical-nationalist rag BELARUS, which circulates in New York and its suburbs, where numerous former fascist stooges reside. It is with this haughty but sad news item that we shall begin our story about friend Nadsan and his ecclesiastical and secular associates in the field of subversive propaganda and intelligence-subversion activities against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. And not from the historical perspective, as we have done in the past, but beginning with his current vain attempts to cast at least in passing a shadow on our war-torn but unwaveringly-solid Soviet land.

Trained at various special "commander" schools run by the Fascist Wehrmacht, and subsequently by the Vatican as well, not only skillfully to handle the cross and submachinegun but also to lie in an inspired manner, this externally undistinguished, quiet "monk," with a simple directness, "can entwine the devil in his monastic rags, reeking of anticommunism." It is evident that today Alyaksandr Buchko, alias Nadsan, is one of those CIA specialists in the history and culture of the Belorussian people, carefully camouflaged as priests and monks, who back in the early postwar years obediently carried out the most "sophisticated" anti-Soviet subversive operations. How else can one interpret that fact, at first glance a textbook-example fact like the Pythagorean theorem, that precisely Alyaksandr Nadsan was one of the principal "speakers" at the vaunted 15th get-together of former Nazi stooges, unmasked and exposed by John Loftus, who now call themselves the "Belorussians of North America." Have their ideological "commanders" Vitawt Kipel, Anton Adamovich, and Alois Shukeloyts given up the ghost or have they in their declining years

retreated from "active anticommunist opposition" to a more moderate position? Not on your life! Their bosses in the Vatican and in Washington would not permit this.

Nor should one forget that the 15th get-together of these Messrs "Belorussians of North America" took place in September 1982 in New Brunswick, New Jersey, with the full blessing of local authorities. In addition, as stated in BELARUS, gracious notice was taken not only by the governor of the state of New Jersey but also by the present master of the White House, Mr Ronald Reagan. Both of them, as might have been expected, "expressed sincere good wishes" to these hirelings with extraordinary readiness and willingness. Of course by telegram, for surely they simply do not have the available time for personal contacts with all rootless vagabonds. But in foreign countries even playing "giveaway" for renegades desirous of easy money does not pass unnoticed even if the donor is not personally present: after each telegram of good wishes was read, practically all of them responded with noisy enthusiasm and at least in their thoughts sat astride prancing "white chargers" on the palace square, to the joy of their most Christian bosses. Alyaksandr Buchko-Nadsan, London-based expert on matters pertaining to the history and culture of the Belorussian people, painted for them approximately the same picture. As stated in BELARUS, he himself soon exclaimed: "...It is once again beneficial for us to travel from different countries and gather together in order to remember that we are a part of the indivisible great Belorussian people." It is quite possible that this, if I may be permitted to phrase it in this way, "scientific discovery" of Father Alyaksandr was nothing more than a play to the public. Nevertheless only such scum as he could identify inveterate fascist scum with the Belorussian people.

It is simply amazing that for quite some time Alyaksandr Nadsan enjoyed among certain of our scholars the reputation of a progressive emigre research scholar. Documents recently declassified by the Americans which deal with secret dealings between Washington, the Vatican and its intelligence services state that back at the beginning of the 1950's all the Belorussian bourgeois nationalist ecclesiastics were specifically sent to those countries with the greatest numbers of clerical-nationalist emigres of Belorussian origin. In Paris and London graduates of the Papal "Rusicum" Lew Haroshka (Uniate) and Cheslaw Sipovich (Catholic) kept a solicitous eye on them, while in Brussels, Munich, Toronto, and Chicago this task was performed by priests Charnyawski, Salavey, Ryzhy or Ryzh-Ryhski, and Urbanovich.

Bishop Baleslaw Sloskans, as clever and cunning as a fox, was their principal overseer. At his initiative "Holy Father" lecturers and teachers attached to the (Lyuvenskiy) Catholic University, headed by Father Robert, rector of this institution, organized a special school to train Belorussian emigres as spies and saboteurs, a school known in the West by the name "Belorussian Student Association."

Running errands for the administration of this school, all persons more or less capable of performing toadying services as functionaries of the defunct BCC and BNC, from their venal "presidents" to the rank-and-file pencil pushers of the various offices and departments, "struggled heroically" for the right to a financially-secure existence. And, what is most unpleasant for their

past and present advocates, the bourgeois politicians, journalists, and members of the nobility of the Catholic Church did not conceal this fact. British Catholic Prelate Elred Graham, for example, openly stated in his book "Catholicism and the Contemporary World" (London, 1953) that the Vatican badly needed highly-skilled gathering of intelligence. And he made this statement with the permission of local church authorities.

It would be naive, however, to think that Graham or any other Catholic expert on problems of the contemporary Vatican would step hard on the "corns" of the top officials of the Vatican "information service" in order to reveal their secrets one after the other. Today everybody is aware of the fact that they have an extremely long reach. For this reason the Vatican's agents, whose presence as a rule is always quite obvious to everybody, at the same time are always so deep in clandestine activities that it is extremely difficult to catch them with the goods. Particularly after the Vatican's Sherlock Holmeses in cassocks and mufti began, with the tacit consent of Vatican leaders, to collaborate with their American colleagues, contributing to a common "collection plate." And the Americans, as we know, always back themselves up with mercenaries. For this reason, for example, Italian, German, and Croatian neofascists actively collaborated with them, even in such an important espionage-subversion and political operation as "Rat Trail," which was also dubbed "Nazi Sluice."

One characteristic feature both of the official and sub-rosa activities of many present-day servants of the Vatican is their extraordinary ability to adapt: with government political figures they are sophisticated "government political figures," with scientists and scholars they are "scientists and scholars," with literati they are "literati," and with hardened provocateurs they are "hardened provocateurs." This also applies in full measure, to say the least, to those Vatican minions who have been steering and continue to steer onto the right path Belorussian bourgeois nationalists, who are already stupefied by bourgeois propaganda. Demagoguery happens to be their most formidable and effective weapon!

At this point we shall once again return to their gathering in New Brunswick and inquire as to what else was said there by Alyaksandr Buchko-Nadsan, the Vatican's curator of the Francesco Scarina English-Belorussian Museum-Library Complex. As an "integral part of the great Belorussian people," he called upon his fellow renegades to increase contacts with their fellow countrymen back home as expeditiously as possible, to inquire on a regular basis about the concerns of their daily lives, in order not to become totally separated from the people. "This will be our national reckoning of conscience," he uttered with emotion through clenched teeth, and gazed with bestial anxiety at the faces in his audience, their features twisted with hatred toward Soviet Belorussia.

The game of "giveaway" with Mr Reagan and his administration had focused them not toward peaceful contacts but rather toward a fight to the death with our heroic Belorussian people. Certain church politicians, slippery as eels, swung into action in the "crusade" against the USSR and other socialist countries, to back up the inveterate religious and secular fanatics. We have named some of them in the article "Achtung 'Rusicum' Indoctrinators!"

(ZVYAZDA, 31 May 1985), but Nadsan is a representative of a later contingent of wandering hypocrites, and therefore he had been lagging appreciably behind his predecessors and is only now coming into his own. In strict conformity with this, not very much attention is devoted to him in BELARUS. Nevertheless the salient points are presented with straightforward, incorruptible newspaper reporter's accuracy. We know that it is for this reason that the "keynote address" by this noisy rag's new idol (it is written for all Belorussian bourgeois nationalists, for even in their milieu Nadsan is considered a careerist and parvenu) became hung up on the customary singing of praises to the U.S. militarists, without which, according to his profound comments, the workers of the Belorussian SSR will never revive their spirits.

But how innovatively this "Belorussian priest" discusses the nationalities policy of our Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, and how "faithfully" and "conclusively" he illustrates his "discoveries" with examples from the history of Belorussian Soviet literature! "They (that is, we Communists -- comment by the authors of the article, A. B. and V. P.) ravaged and devastated Kupala and Kolas," he practically screamed. "They used only their names in order to exploit them for their own purposes. And these purposes are totally alien to the Belorussians."

He had plenty to take with him to America, that most God-favored land! In truth ordinary human laws are not written for everybody! Suffice it to say that even former Fascist myrmidon Alois Shukeloyts failed to "take" this genuine anticommunist "bait" bearing the Vatican "seal of quality." In a restrained manner, but not without sarcasm, he chided Nadsan in his speech for the filthy lie about Kupala and Kolas, a fiction which had long since outlived its time, and was forced to acknowledge, as BELARUS states, that "the anniversaries of their births were widely celebrated in 1982 in the Soviet Union and in the Belorussian SSR with a large number of events and activities." But A. Shukeloyts had not yet grasped the point that Kupala and Kolas were poets not of the Belorussian bourgeois nationalists but of the revolutionary working people and were true Soviet patriots. And judging by his subsequent remarks about them, he was incapable of acknowledging this fact. His fellow traitors would simply have dragged him from the podium to prevent him from undermining their authority and that of the tattered "ideologists" and "political commanders" who disseminate the history and culture of the Belorussian people following the Jesuit rule: "If you lie, don't get caught, and if you are caught, don't admit it." The entirety of bourgeois historiography is constructed on this foundation, and therefore the Belorussian North American hirelings also have no other recourse but to stew in the juice of unpardonable lies.

3024

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CULTURE

GELMAN QUESTIONS SIGNS OF CHANGE, THEIR PERMANENCE

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Sep 86 p 10

[Article by Alexandr Gelman under the heading: "The Writer and Society": "What Comes First and What Comes Later..."; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in text]

[Text] One should not arrogantly ask, "But what in fact has changed, and where are the changes? I can't seem to see any great changes."

In order for the restructuring to become irreversible, it is necessary to work, to labor.

I look upon the changes taking place today as if Fate had turned its face toward us. And why Fate? Because history, with all the regularities of its development, with the beginnings and endings of its periods, deals in a childishly careless manner: a decade more or less, another year at the turn of an epoch, is a mere trifle for it. But for us, with the rather short span allotted to us, these liberties which history takes are viewed as the turns of Fate.

However, people are made in such a way that, when Fate turns its back to us, they curse and abuse it and heap all their misfortunes upon it. But when it suddenly turns around and reveals to us the range of possibilities, after first giving themselves up to joy and rejoicing, right then and there they begin to find fault and incompleteness in this turn of Fate--"Yes," they say, "the turnabout took place, but you see it's only partial; it's not complete. Oh, if it were only complete."

Historically, Fate never does turn about completely. We must turn it more, by our own efforts, as far as we dare. Otherwise anything can happen; it might reverse itself, and once again show its back to us.

I'm not a believer, but I acknowledge sin. And the most terrible, the most unforgivable sins people commit are lost and ruined opportunities. You can't go back to the past in order to correct or change something there. There is only one thing which can be changed, and that is the future--which very quickly, before we can turn around, becomes the past. It seems that it was not long ago at all that our future was the 1950's, the 1960's, the 1970's. Now it's all past.

Of course this is the way of people--to sin and confess, sin and confess. But we have sinned many times. We have sinned several times in a row, without stopping. The old sins were heaped upon the new, and old sins nurtured new ones.

When entering his active and productive life, man operates simultaneously in two territories, or two zones. The external territory contains the equipment, the machinery, and the bosses--but most important, the procedures and rules for organization of labor and wages for it. This is one world, the external. The second territory, the second world is the internal world, the locus of feelings, thoughts, desires, aspirations, conscience, and the soul itself. And so a man begins to work. If in the external territory he bumps up against steep, obtuse, and intractable procedures with which he cannot deal, he then crosses over to the internal territory; here he begins to smash and tear things up, as he becomes acclimated to the conditions of the external zone. Here he himself is the master, and the material is a bit softer and more yielding--his own brains. It's a law--work is done first where it's easier. And this is where the restructuring has gone, as far as it has gone anywhere. Honesty was changed into mendacity, and straightforwardness into dodging; the soul itself may have been completely removed--the landowner is the master. And when a person encounters steep obstacles in both zones, he beats his head against both of these walls and more often than not finally retreats to a "guarded" job--to the kind of work where one receives some sort of wages for the fact that one guards the chair in which one sits, and pretends to work. It turns out that we have countless numbers of "guarded posts"; half the nation could be employed at this alleged work.

And so, if I may be permitted a little theory, our common national property is united with its masters and determines their consciousness, not in and of itself, and not in the "pure" form; it is fitted out with clear or incoherent procedures and rules. Realizing this, its masters work with the common national property (in it, on it, near and around it). Thus, there is an intermediary between the master and his property--the author of the rules and procedures. He also must be called to the stage when things go poorly, and not, as it used to be, cite the inevitable lag of consciousness behind existence. Existence includes procedures and rules as its integral, most active, and influential parts. Apart from these procedures and rules the common national property is perceived speculatively, contemplatively, intently, acutely--as a painted panorama of "The Fields and Factories of our Motherland" might be perceived.

Marxism has also become our common national property. But one should not take it too literally, as certain "scholars" do, who have turned the great revolutionary teachings into a bottomless feeding trough. You can see how it comes about: the leadership feels some kind of new current, and following the principle of anticipated subservience, hastens to define its fundamental "Marxist" origins.

Marxism is the profound, vital ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is books, which are just books after all; they lie on their sides or they stand up, just as the land lies, as factories stand. And like the land and the factories, these books cannot build socialism by themselves. They do this, for better or for worse, once again, to the extent that our brains select and interpret them.

When reading some works, one gets the impression that after the revolution the country's national economy was gathered literally under one roof; that society had in common one mouth, one pair of hands, and one head perched on one set of shoulders. It is considered somehow unimportant, a peripheral factor, that a person needs that which he needs, for the most part as a separate individual or as a member of his family. And the fact goes almost completely unnoticed, that one's mind, capabilities, physical strength, conscience and the like are still and shall be for all time the immutable, private property of an individual, which an individual brings to bear in production--and he regulates the expenditure of his properties himself. You are free to establish certain conditions for me; but I have my own freedom also, my own range of possibilities, with its upper and lower limits--and I myself shall decide at which of these limits to work. There is more than one response to every greeting. Moreover, it may not be the response the "theoreticians" are counting on, as they dismiss the fact that each person belongs to himself--not in all respects, of course, but in a sufficient, serious respect nonetheless.

The opinion is held that wage-leveling is on the whole a good thing; but, inasmuch as this fact is poorly appreciated, it is necessary to adopt a certain differentiation in wages.

There is a great deal of distortion in this interpretation. With respect to wage-leveling, love of money is not the motivating factor. A person loves and respects himself--that's the crux of the matter. While acknowledging equal rights as an undeniable good and the highest form of justice, people nevertheless do not strive for equality, toward identical personal achievements in self-realization, in achieving their potential. On the contrary; in this respect they feel that out-and-out competition is both right and necessary. Life, apart from everything else, is still a contest of individuals. To show one's stuff--when it is a question of self-realization and not of exploiting the labor of another person--is a person's legal and normal right. There is an ineradicable need for such rivalry, and it is in no way bourgeois. And wages--wages are not only the level of solvency; wages are a measure of public and social recognition of one's service; a measure of one's personal qualities, and therefore also a matter of pride if you will. Wage-leveling is not only hard on one's pocketbook, it also harms one's self-esteem. It removes the prospects for honest, innocent ambition; and after all, that is the true and inexhaustible source of not only the economic but also the spiritual enrichment of society. Even in the most ascetic disinterest one discovers, if one is careful, a moment of ambition.

Of course there will also be losses--greed, materialism, enviousness. But has wage-leveling really saved us from that? In social questions, the solution accompanied by the least possible evil is considered just. One must not disparage good rules because of undesirable exceptions. /Justice does not lie in the fact that one receives an equal share; but in the fact that one does not receive an equal part unfairly./

The need to compete also has a profound existential meaning: life is short; death is inevitable, and threatens us whether we think about it or not. Therefore, the opportunity to display oneself, to show one's stuff; to make

an impression on people's memory, on many or just a few, for a long time or even a short while; this is at times done consciously, at times unconsciously--but is nevertheless a powerful method of overcoming the bleak, temporal nature of our sojourn under the heavens. Our political economics stubbornly refuses to consider such existential factors; were it otherwise, it would have comprehended the faulty nature of wage-leveling long, long ago. A person needs--like he needs air--great, mighty, breath-taking prospects if you will--not random chance: then he will display the wonders of ambition and creativity.

Society is not like a tree; it has roots both underneath and on top. And if the vascular system between the upper and the lower roots is clogged by arbitrary rule, dogmatism or simple stupidity, then blood clots will inevitably form, the cure for which, as we see today, is no simple matter.

The most serious mistake is the mistake of determining the causes--when the dog is buried on the right side, and they dig on the left. And it still happens, that they find the cause; they look it over; and then they close their eyes, turn around, and point a finger in the opposite direction.

"Gross output," that notorious psuedo-indicator, has literally oppressed our economy. It has deceived and misled everyone by its insidious simplicity, by the clarity of its absurd principles: the heavier the better; the lengthier the better; the farther the better; the costlier the better. It was easy to lead with the help of "gross output"; without becoming overburdened, "gross output" nurtured an entire generation of figure-inflating bosses--inasmuch as that was in essence the legal, authorized, and encouraged form for enormous exaggerations. "Gross output" provided the push-off to many a doubtful career.

A national holiday should be declared for the day when "gross output" is finally abolished: Deliverance Day. And it should be observed every year for the edification of posterity. I introduce this suggestion without any hint of levity.

The first thing a person realizes as he is growing is up is that one can live better or one can live worse. There is a wide choice, a wide repertoire of forms of "the better life," and everyone sets his hopes on one of them. Later on the model can be changed--by my own observations, people can change such models three to five times; that's all they can manage. At the same time one's pretensions frequently clash with one's ambitions and one's capabilities. People are different; but each one alike wants to live as well as he can.

For those whose pretensions have run far beyond them one observes an attraction to routine group connections. One meets people who are highly adept at setting up, strengthening, developing, and branching out their connections. People with a lot of "connections" clutch in their hands entire balls of threads which lead off in all directions. These are usually rather tight, strong threads, because they are all twisted up in illegal and unofficial activities.

Today the "communicators" are perplexed; certain of the "communications centers" have fallen on bad times. But the hardest and the most energetic have already set about organizing new contacts with the new people the restructuring has brought forth.

Privileges in the laws--which is of course not the same as the bourgeoisie with their the real estate--but it's same in the way they try to hold on to them, with the help of God, as they say. I call these people who uncompromisingly cling to their rights, "the new malcontents," as opposed to the malcontents of April '85. Today when the numerous lists of the allowable and the inadmissible, the permitted and the forbidden, are given different interpretations and are reexamined--squabbles, struggles and delays surround every obsolete "you may not" and "you may". The "new malcontents" try to accompany every step toward greater independence and freedom, to hem them in, and surround them with so much slander that you can't pry your feet loose, and can't make a move.

Rights are weapons, and, in order that they are not abused, they should be distributed in such a manner that no one is left unarmed.

But there are no two dogmas alike. There is the dogmatism that is backward and obstinate; which devours time; which does not want to understand that if vitally important questions are not resolved in the intended channel--and you can't git rid of the questions, "Questions do not die"--then the channel itself must be changed. But there is also high and beneficial dogma. And there are everlasting certitudes, which never become obsolete.

You can be absolutely certain that if people at their enterprises and in their organizations do not themselves decide how they are to live and work; if they do not make their own mistakes, do not themselves endure the results of their mistakes, do not correct them themselves, and do not themselves keep them in mind for the future; and if they do not themselves freely choose their public leaders and do not themselves take part in the selection and assignment of administrative cadres--then in spite of the fact that they are living under socialism, they will relate to the common wealth as if it were not held in common, and is not ours, but belongs to no one.

You can be absolutely certain that if you were to introduce wage-leveling in production--"ceilings"--then very soon an energetic struggle would commence not for increasing productivity of labor, but for increasing immobility; and if this struggle goes on for many years, you would most definitely achieve the highest productivity of immobility in the world.

You can be absolutely certain that, if at meetings, plenums, seminars, symposiums, colloquiums, and conferences only that which "ought to" be said is always said, then, necessarily that which "ought not to" be done will be done.

You can be absolutely certain that, if those people called upon to check up on and throw light upon the activities of responsible individuals and institutions are dependent upon those individuals and institutions, then there will be no honest, objective, impartial control whatsoever.

You can be absolutely certain that, if even one untouchable person appears in a collective, in a city, or in any place--right then and there, immediately, his close acquaintances will become untouchable, acquaintances of his acquaintances, and acquaintances of acquaintances of acquaintances; and very quickly a collective guarantee of inviolability will be formed, a closed circle of inviolability which no one will dare disturb until such time as he himself cracks it.

Read Andrey Platonov. Today everything he wrote should be published and published again, because Andrey Platonov understood like no one else that if government is not combined with cultural values, if government is not permeated with the age-old certainties of mankind, then everything will turn out the opposite of what was intended, and no one will even grasp what the desired outcome was.

Unfortunately, in the world of art, even among us, one observes a certain disdain for the world of government and politics, as toward something primordially routine, unspiritual, and not worthy of attention. Illusions spring up that cultural and spiritual activity is capable of directing society along the true path by itself, apart from government or even in spite of it. These splashes of arrogance, this "lofty" snobism actually has no support in historical practice. On the contrary, practical experience shows that government inspired by culture is capable of doing more in one day than culture, in and of itself, can do in many decades. This topic requires special examination, but I'd like to say here that government and culture--it goes without saying, not the routine variety but true culture--must go firmly in step with one another if we want the restructuring to be irreversible. Culture, without control of its mission will only make proclamations over and over again, but will not see them through to the end. Andrey Platonov understood this better than I--much better than I. But you see, he was simply not understood by those whom he wanted to help, out of the goodness of his heart.

What is a bureaucrat, and where does he come from? Obviously a person is not born a bureaucrat. Therefore one should not presume that such a huge number of bureaucrats were born because there exists a biological genus, bureaucratism. I've simply observed several times how a normal man is turned into a thoroughly classical bureaucrat in just a year or two--that's all it takes.

It's a simple process. If you want to get a bureaucrat, put a person into a situation where many people will depend on him, but where at the same time he does not depend on them. That's it. In this manner you can turn out bureaucrats by the thousands.

A bureaucrat is an offspring of unbalanced interdependence in society.

Therefore, if I do not depend on you, you do not exist for me and you don't have to exist. Those who do not depend on others do not remember. Bureaucratism is the absence of memory. A buzzing fly--that is what you are to a bureaucrat. His cherished dream is to invent for people, as for flies, some kind of sticky paper, so that on the way to his office you would become stuck, and would finally stop buzzing around.

Jokes are jokes, but the structure of independence is a serious matter. Nothing else makes such an impression on our memory as interdependence--especially on that layer of memory, the most important one, which I call volitional memory. Dwelling in volitional memory are only those interpersonal relationships, and only those truths the consideration or lack of consideration of which has serious consequences. Everything else is stored in another part of memory, in the bag into which we throw everything that our eyes see and our ears hear--this is the entry-level, current, irresponsible memory. And so, volitional memory is a special safe, a privileged place where entry is granted only with the passwords of dependency.

Self-regulation, self-motivation, self-disengagement, self-control--how I love all these "self" words! Also dear to my heart are "inter" words. I've actually composed an aphorism: When there is no "self," there is no "inter" either. The essence of this lies in the fact that /the interdependencies of independent, sovereign structures are the most fruitful in our society./ Dependent-independent associations, if one can put it thus, are the most reliable and the most effective ones. They correspond with greatest precision with the nature of society, where people, families, collectives, and nations are at once both independent and interconnected. But among us, quite often government is set up on a purely dependent principle. And what you get is something like the well-known trick with dominos. Remember that game? You line up the pieces standing on end, back-to-back; then you knock down the first one--and tik-tik-tik, one after another, they all fall down.

However it's very difficult to place the accent in the proper place when it is a question not of pronunciation of words, but of observing social symmetry. If you put more pressure on centralism, arbitrariness crawls out; if you let democracy go completely unchecked the "mother of order," anarchy, results. And the "mother" and "father" must live together and help one another run the household.

In this matter only the individual and openness can help.

A person is a person only when he strives to be a person. But he can also not strive. Nature, placing us in society among our fellows, was not concerned over whether the pretensions of each one corresponded with the interests of all. Dostoyevsky continually devoted special attention to this "unfinished work" of nature. It is precisely for this reason that openness is needed--because society is always a kind of "unified body" within which manifestations of individual and group arbitrary rule are possible and, in essence, inevitable.

Openness, if you will, is the response of society to our "unfinished nature." Openness can annoy everyone individually; it is thorny; it brings unpleasantness, and at times is even unjust--notwithstanding the fact that it is the penance, the altogether necessary highest degree of caution, which society voluntarily puts on, in admitting to its weaknesses.

Not long ago a comrade from among the "new malcontents" pointed out to me that openness is, as he put it, "a dangerous instrument, a double-edged sword." He would prefer to see swords with only one edge. He suggested to me that the newspapers are now literally hunting for administrators who've been "raided" and defended themselves, but are waiting for the next one.

The methodology of approach here is a curious one: openness is examined in isolation, separate from everything, as if we had never known its exact opposite--secrecy. It's as if no one was aware that truth is recognized in comparisons; as if it's hard to see that if you compare the evil which comes from secrecy, and the evil from openness, you discover that it's like a mountain and a grain of sand--not to mention the fact that the mountain of evil from secrecy is always two-thirds hidden by fog, and the grain of evil from openness is always in plain view--and, as they say, one can work with this evil.

Never mind. The "new malcontents" will get used to it, and everything will be normal. After all, they were children at one time, and children don't know secrecy--they say whatever comes into their heads. And they say what they want to say. But later on they learn that it's better to keep silent. And so they learned with experience, but they've also forgotten that at one time they had to learn this.

Childhood should be thought of more often. Only in remembering one's childhood does one see oneself from another aspect, and see what one has turned into.

To be receptive to any criticism, even the most prejudiced and rowdy kind, is useful; a writer should not shun this, and not only writers. It is stimulating; it is vexing; it makes you laugh; it sharpens your pen and your wits; you feel alive, stirred up, touched.

I'd like to share a story connected with the new attitude toward criticism. I was told how one supervisor who had quickly adopted new work methods assembled the "triumverate" prior to a large meeting and ordered, "that every, and I stress, every speech, contain criticism of myself!" But he did not stop with that, and took the matter of "criticism of myself" completely into his own hands: he summoned the scheduled speakers and carefully outlined who should criticize him, and for what... I allow that it's entirely possible, for the sake of developing the topic, that such a supervisor could hold courses on "criticism of myself," under his own supervision as well, and later share his experience of working "in a new manner."

A number of important questions yet remain at the orbital window for openness. The line is moving ahead and it is a lively line. And I do not at all believe that one has to have everything dumped on one's head all at once. But what comes first and what comes later is very important. Errors in this question are not tactical, but strategic errors.

When openness was not widespread, it was narrow, and was kept at home or in one's own circle. In these small groups ideas, at times doubtful and rather vague, used to stew in their own juice. Not encountering other points of view in open dispute, these ideas became puffed up; people wrapped themselves up in them, and from this became irreversible, impervious to reason, and obstinate. Now this is coming to light little by little: speeches are made and articles are published, and there is the possibility of hearing objections; to see oneself from another angle; to distinguish in one's convictions the proven and well-grounded from the false, the seeming, and even the merely fanciful ideas.

Fear of conflict is characteristic of people of stereotypical group-thought, who subconsciously believe that any conflict, if it is normal and consistent, will develop and be analyzed democratically; and, in the final analysis its lack of substance, or even their guilt will be revealed. And therefore one hears, "It was nothing; it was nothing." The conflicts were not resolved but were quieted down, talked out, smoothed out, and wrapped up in a tissue of demagoguery... And the waves sank beneath the surface. They are there somewhere, under the water; they lashed and pounded, but hardly anyone dove in. Then they began to "pour out"--the Uzbek affairs, the Rostov affair... Chernobyl...

Man is a frail being, and all around him are powerful forces such as nature and society. What is he to do? He puts on the armor of his convictions. But if these convictions are false--there's sure to be trouble.

It's impossible to change one's life without looking back; but life must be studied just so, without looking back--both thus and so, from the front and the rear, from the inside and even obliquely. And so we take a step, but are afraid to look back to see where we've come from and where we've gone.

Life bewitches and mystifies us. And life is deceiving. The burning need for certainty is stronger than hunger and thirst; it is impatient, and it can make you believe the first thing you encounter--any nonsense or rubbish. You can sort it out later.

Once I witnessed a conversation between a script writer and his editor. The editor was asking the script writer to discard a certain cue, but the script writer firmly stood his ground. Both were so implacable and both resorted to such ecstasies of principle that I decided to take an interest. It turned out to be an innocent, trifling cue, and it was not even that well composed. I shrugged my shoulders, and the script writer cast me a withering glance, snatched up the script, and ran out. But from talking to the editor I understood what the matter was. At one time, in the first version of the script this was a truly sharp and significant cue. In the course of a year the unfortunate line was edited, retouched, rounded off, and was long ago turned into an empty phrase.

But for the author and the editor, in their conception obviously, it retained a kind of reflection, a certain shade of the line long since ruined; and so they grappled with one another because of this pale, insignificant shade, the presense or absence of which meant exactly nothing.

What a sad situation, is it not? The senselessness of the absurd always contains an element of sadness.

A little more than a year has passed since April '85, but even now at times we don't recognize ourselves. Is this really us? Yes, it is us. We're the same people who used to put up with things that we don't put up with today. We're the same people who used to remain silent about things we no longer remain silent about. We're the same ones who quailed before that which we no longer fear. And we are the same ones who were not even bold enough to think about things which we now write about in the paper. It's still us;

the very same us. Does this mean that tomorrow we may once again put up with things which we do not put up with today and will once again be afraid to write in the newspapers about that which we write today? Yes, that will also be us; not some kind of abstract people, but you and I--I, the one writing these remarks and you, the one reading them.

Therefore one should not arrogantly ask, "But what in fact has changed, and where are the changes? I can't seem to see any great changes." In order for the restructuring to become irreversible, it is necessary to work, to labor. Because with all the lofty respect which we feel towards our own "self," life in its usual way has clearly demonstrated that people are what circumstances make them; therefore, when there is a possibility of humanizing a situation, it must be done--without being lazy about it, in a major way, for a long time. Because this is the greatest thing we can do, not only for ourselves, but for our children and for our children's children.

In conclusion, I shall touch upon the greatest question, which is at the same time the most personal question today for everyone. A Hungarian journalist asked me, "Dare I hope that my plays will be remembered 100 years from now?" I answered her then, and I want to reassert that reply now, that I hope to God that in 100 years there will be someone around to forget me. Personally, I couldn't wish for more.

Today the USSR and the USA are like two legs of humanity, which has decided to get out of a dangerous situation. But if one leg takes a step and the other stays put, there will be no progress toward the goal. Of course it's difficult to teach two legs belonging to such differently-constituted bodies to walk normally, without stumbling. But what can we do? We have to somehow "limp along" until better times come. There's no alternative.

The guaranteed period offered by nature to the history of mankind--the time in which we could act without thinking, like madmen, rise up and fall down, give someone a bloody nose--has come to an end. And this period has come to an end for us, for our wave of existence, for the generations living at the end of the 20th century. Nature has dealt honorably with us: it has led us to this point not like the mammoth, which one day became extinct--without knowing why, but with our intellect intact. Nature has done all it can. And now it has placed in our hands our history, and our children, both born and yet to be born, saying, "You've got to do the rest yourselves, dear people; either apply your minds to it, or that's all--it's goodbye."

I've found a way out for those unable to do so. You see, in 100 years not one of the people now living on the earth will remain. That's like an atomic war for you, only without bombs. Wait a bit, and everyone will be defeated--both your enemies, and your enemies' enemies--that is, you yourself. And the people who come after us will examine for themselves how they will build their lives: our way or your way. And they'll do it their own way.

No one, by his own arbitrary rule, should bring upon himself a horrible sin and deprive new people of the possibility of coming here.

This world belongs not only to us, but to them as well, even though they have not yet walked upon it.

CULTURE

LITERARY CRITICS DISCUSS AYTMATOV NOVEL ON MOSCOW TV

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[From the "Literary Almanac" program: Talk between literary critics Lev Anninskiy and Igor Zolotusskiy entitled "Reflections on Chingiz Aytmatov's Novel 'Plakha'"; video shows Anninskiy and Zolotusskiy seated in study; place and time not given--recorded]

[Text] [Anninskiy] Have you read it?

[Zolotusakiy] I have read it.

[Anninskiy] Well, what can you say?

[Zolotusskiy] My impressions were most varied--different impressions from each issue of the magazine [monthly NOVYY MIR published "Plakha" in three parts in June, August, and September]. At first it was a surprise, then a let down, then surprise again, and another letdown in the end.

[Anninskiy] It was the opposite way with me. At first surprise, then incredible disappointment, then some compensation and even satisfaction. Take each issue: In the first part, which appeared in the summer--the first one-third--there was a feeling of groping for something big and the principle underlying the approach kept changing. At first there was the story with the wolves--you could feel a certain integral whole. Then the chapter where they set off for the narcotics begins, and you feel that Aytmatov has simply changed the inner angle of view.

This bothers me a lot. I felt that there was an element of--well, sensational literature in the bad sense of the word, although I read it with interest. Such things as the runners [gontsy] getting narcotics were never written about before. It seems this has never appeared in our prose. It was interesting.

[Zolotusskiy] Although articles have now appeared in the newspapers about narcotics.

[Anninskiy] Well, you will agree that it is not so easy to keep up with the papers, although they have appeared. Then I was completely discouraged with

the passage in which Avdiy Kallistratov imagines himself to be in Jerusalem--with the biblical paraphrasing.

I liked the third part and everything that concerned the steppe and the kidnapping of the wolf cubs. I found this very interesting. I can even tell you why. So, let us try to exchange views and figure out who liked what.

[Zolotusskiy] Of course, of course.

[Anninskiy] You know, first of all, this change in the inner angle of view is extremely morbid. A writer should maintain the inner topic very clearly. He can describe anything he likes, but this kind of mixture of journalese and pure creative writing that at times appears to have no motive--it greatly disturbs me, although I grant that this kind of construction--recalling a collage--is not unique to Aytmatov, strange as this may seem. In principle this kind of thing is now possible because the contemporary reader living in a complex sphere crisscrossed with modern information is to some extent conditioned for colleges.

This is why I am confident that, despite all the contradictions, the most diverse readers are perceiving Aytmatov with enormous interest, enormous interest.

[Zolotusskiy] Yes, I personally saw how avidly his novel is being read...

[Anninskiy interrupts] With good reason.

[Zolotusskiy] It is even being read with a certain degree of awe and trepidation, because readers could not imagine that such topics would some day become the topic of open prose.

[Anninskiy] Aytmatov attempts not so much to reconcile as to link the Christian traditions of mercy and compassion for the fallen with some kind of pagan wolflike and powerful figure. I do not know--it seems to me to be disjointed. In fact, the entire biblical part--well, it disturbs me, first of all because it smacks of trendiness. When Bulgakov did this it was not a question of fashion. It was a real feat, an extremely risky act in the artistic sense, a courageous act. Now, here, it is on the verge of being trendy, although nevertheless I give Aytmatov his due for doing it. What disturbs me, first of all, is the inner feeling of repetition. There are constant reminiscences of various kinds: the conversation between Avdiy Kallistratov, the runner--the imaginary runner--and Grishan strongly recalls Ivan Karamazov's dialogue with the devil or Smerdyukov--those Dostoyevskiy dialogues about evil provoking good.

[Zolotusskiy] Only strongly diluted, naturally.

[Anninskiy] Yes, but they do recall them.

[Zolotusskiy] It is a kind of adaptation.

[Anninskiy] In fact, it is an indication of their weakening that they recall them. I do not know: The entire situation with Avdiy, who wanders about, provoking malicious people to be evil to him, so to speak--this is the situation of "The Idiot" of Dostoyevskiy. Of course, this also disturbs me. All the biblical scenes arouse a lot of protests in me, not because Aytmatov describes things not as they were--I am disturbed by the way he interprets these things. This contradicts my feelings.

[Anninskiy continues] For example, when Aytmatov's hero has an inner confrontation with Pontius Pilate as the embodiment of blunt militarized force: To me this is the least interesting version, insofar as Pilate is more interesting, I would say, as an intellectual of antiquity, as a representative of a great power and a great culture of antiquity that regarded this crowd to some extent as a crowd of savages. This is a more interesting attitude and is also an approach... [changes thought] When Aytmatov forces Christ to remember his mother--this, again, is probably a reminiscence from "The White Ship." It is a kind of ancestral consciousness that hardly agrees with Christian cultural tradition, which says: Leave thy parents and follow me.

[Zolotusskiy] Well, there is an element of defilement of this Christian legend here, so to speak--of the biblical topic. If Bulgakov somehow elevated the aesthetic side of the biblical topic--if he somehow elevated this material by its very treatment, so to speak, while on the other hand the task of raising the aesthetic side somehow contradicted the lofty spirit of the material--and this was undoubtedly a miscalculation on Bulgakov's part--then here a kind of defilement of the biblical topic is occurring. He lets both of them down to earth and essentially puts them both in an equal position as mortal beings.

This is the reason for the appearance of the letter from Pilate's wife, who writes to him attempting to intercede on behalf of Christ--and even Christ himself does not feel himself to be the son of God and feels just like an ordinary human. Of course, some kind of civic feelings on the part of Aytmatov made themselves known here. The internal problem in this scene is, after all, a problem of power and opposition to power. The social problem may be more important for Aytmatov than other problems on this topic.

[Anninskiy] No, I do not agree, and I will tell you why. It is not that which is interesting to him. He wants to solve the problem of how to unite mercy and strength. He does not know how to do this. He tries to do this by enlisting the wolf, a strong animal, as an ally for Avdiy, the representative of this compassionate and traditionally Christian conscience, while there are incredible internal pitfalls and frustrations because Pontius Pilate, who countervails an alliance between the wolf and man as nobleness and strength--Pontius Pilate, who embodies blunt force and is, in fact, a representative of an identical pagan inner strength and dignity--it is not surprising that a Roman was raised by a she-wolf. [sentence as heard] After all, Rome began with a she-wolf. Just think, when Aytmatov--you see what a case we have--contrasts Pilate as the bearer of this barbarity and crudity, this is wrong

insofar as Rome is primarily a representative of moderation, culture, and limits to culture, beyond which there is chaos. These are things opposing chaos.

Therefore, here Aytmatov is building everything on very contradictory internal foundations. There is another thing we are talking about, that is, the fact that Aytmatov is building a philosophical structure, and this is precisely what dissatisfies me. I will explain why. The matter is this. In principle, who does Aytmatov express sympathy for? What kind of hero is he sympathetic to? Take Boston, for instance. In translation this means grey coat--in other words, a man close to a wolf. For Aytmatov the wolf is not the symbol it is in Russian fable--a symbol of evil and aggression. It is a symbol of thrift, loyalty, a kind of reliability, natural clarity, and courage.

[Zolotusskiy interrupts] It is somehow integral with nature.

[Anninskiy] Exactly. Whom does Aytmatov dislike? Well let us see: the drug [Anasha] runners, that is the people dependent on narcotics, those pitiful and spiritually impoverished people. Then there are the meat hunters--Kandalov for instance: the same pitiful crowd.

[Zolotusskiy interrupts] By the way, this was one of the most powerful scenes: the slaughter of the antelopes in the savannah.

[Anninskiy] Exactly. It is not new, but it is powerful. I understand. Now, even Gazet Kishi, that pitiful demagogue--what was the basis of his demagoguery, if not the same basis that stems from Christianity, by the way--an inside-out Christianity? In other words, he uses the same ideas whereby one should feel compassion for the poor in spirit--do you see what is happening? Aytmatov, in defending the Christian tradition, in reality is not aware that the people that he feels contempt for are those who, in the Christian tradition, are deserving of indulgence and pity. Therefore, in this situation, I am bothered by his internal inconsistency. I would interpret it in the following manner: Aytmatov, a noble person--courageous, a person of natural gifts--is attempting to raise and enlist as an ally Christian traditions to which he is not personally committed. More likely, he is a man of force, more of the type that is descriptive of an old-fashioned nobleman--I mean this in a positive sense: for example, I speak of a shepherd who gives rise to a dynasty or a people, that is, precisely somebody like Boston.

[Anninskiy continues] This really is the organic Aytmatov. Here he is very strong. Therefore, the whole of the third part, where a strong-willed person stands up against a pitiful person--this is the real Aytmatov. But this tradition is more likely to be pre-Christian, more likely to be pagan. I respect this. I admit that it is alive today. But when this tradition has to be united with the Christian tradition--this is a purely mechanical union. This union is not mindless.

[Zolotusskiy] We speak about Christian traditions. Curiously, it is transported from a world of man to an animal world. These feelings of mercy,

about which you spoke earlier, are essentially handed over to the wolves, to the animals, who are more merciful than man, both to nature and to man. Since this element is dear and close to Aytmatov—I remember how he wrote about the reindeer cow in "The White Ship," about the steed in ("Farewell Gelsary"), about a camel in the ("Buran Settlement")—here we find wolves who are described in stronger terms than people.

[Anninskiy] It is painful and shameful that a Kirghiz writer, who was brought up in a totally different tradition, comes along on the scene to raise Christ from the mud, while in the meantime our Russian prose, via the medium of television, wastes time on aerobics, or expresses surprise that these people—the elect, chosen by God—from whom we expected so much, in fact produce criminals. Given these circumstances I pay my respects to Aytmatov, even though I do not consider him to be organic. I do respect him for doing that which Russian prose is not doing.

[Zolotusskiy] Yes, there might be something to this. But there is also, as I said before, an organic need to become a mirror of the events that are taking place today around us.

[Anninskiy] This is wearing off.

[Zolotusskiy] Yes.

[Anninskiy] What are people reading now?

[Zolotusskiy] In his works, the organic and the inorganic are constantly at odds. That is the naturally strong sensitivity—when he enters his native savannah, when he describes the antelopes which are travelling in powerful waves as the helicopters are poised above them, when they press the wolves against the all-terrain vehicles—these are described with immense power.

[Anninskiy] There are allusions to "The Hunt for Wolves Is Going On," by Vysotskiy.

[Zolotusskiy] Yes, too many allusions. I perceive literature as appealing to the heart rather than to the mind. Therefore, allusions amuse me. Nevertheless, this is powerfully written. This organic, powerful feeling for the element acts as a counterbalance to [word indistinct].

[Anninskiy] When there is a struggle between two merciless men, that is heroism, and here he is at home. On the other hand, I am a man belonging to the other tradition. I feel sympathy for man, for his sufferings; therefore, my view differs from that of Aytmatov. Yet I admit that when man and wolf, as the two powerful representatives of nature's genesis, are locked in combat, it is powerful; everything here, if you wish, is being decided by blood, but this is very powerful.

[Zolotusskiy] Regarding the last blood spilled...

[Anninskiy interrupts] When he kills Bazarbay.

[Zolotusskiy] No, when he first kills his own child. When, without evil intent, the wolf carries the child away, and he aims at the wolf, but hits the child.

[Anninskiy] He hits the wolf as well.

[Zolotusskiy] Yes, he does. But the child must die. Don't you see a strained, false situation here?

[Anninskiy] No. There is no strain here. What this is, is blood atonement, which is built into the plot from the very beginning. Atonement for what?

[Zolotusskiy] That is where the lie is, because it is built into the plot from the very beginning.

[Anninskiy] No. That is his greatest truth. This is Aytmatov's real, deep inner truth of his condition. This is his creative soil--the house he lives in. When he appeals for sympathy he wants to attract...

[Zolotusskiy interrupts] This is done by design. The child is killed with this in view. He kills his enemy when he later returns. Here we see the theme of retribution on earth--a theme that appears to be contradictory to the whole second part of the novel.

[Anninskiy] You know, what we see here is the unwinding of the end of such powerful momentum that this is taken as a...

[Zolotusskiy interrupts] In other words, in Aytmatov the image of the earthly, historical, civic man is in constant struggle against the spiritual man who wants to solve the eternal questions by eternal means.

[Anninskiy] This is very interesting, and you are correct. Therefore, where do you and I agree? That he, reflecting the reality of today, is without fear--is clear, powerful, and independent. This is the remarkably strong side of his novel. The fact that he is trying to solve a philosophical problem--this touches me. It makes me feel warm. But it does not convince me. We have to grow together with him---not because he is not able to solve these problems because he is aware that he has not thought them through, but because none of us is capable of solving them. He is our mirror. I am inclined to put it this way: He is not able to solve a universal, eternal problem because we have not as yet matured enough to solve it. On the other hand, anger at the slaughter of wolves has matured in us. We are now dealing with narcotics because it is time to do so. This is what he said, and we have to face it.

[Zolotusskiy] He has two conflicting desires: The desire to forgive and the desire to punish. This is a very contemporary desire.

[Anninskiy] To forgive or to punish?

[Zolotusskiy] Both to forgive and to punish.

[Anninskiy] Let us determine which is more contemporary, from your point of view.

[Zolotusskiy] Social wrongs and social wounds inflicted on a contemporary person call for revenge. Aytmatov, who created as the hero of his book a man who is incapable of revenge...

[Anninskiy interrupts] Who is that?

[Zolotusskiy] Avdiy Kallistratov.

[Anninskiy] What about Boston? Who is more important?

[Zolotusskiy] Towards the end Boston appears to be, because he is depicted more strongly.

[Anninskiy] Quite correct. Why does Aytmatov need Avdiy, when he is not ready to either forgive or to have pity? But he is ready to [word indistinct].

[Zolotusskiy] The phenomenon of the contemporary world and its consciousness.

[Anninskiy] Yes, yes. That is why I do not like the second part. It is a contemporary gentleman's compilation, if you will forgive this expression. But the third part is realistic Aytmatov. Here we find the strong writer.

[Zolotusskiy] Therefore, we are seeing two Aytmatovs.

[Anninskiy] Two sides of a situation.

[Zolotusskiy] Yes: Not a double; not, so to speak, a hypocrite, but two people who coexist in one body.

[Anninskiy] You are absolutely correct. There can be no talk on hypocrisy.

[Zolotusskiy] This is what makes the novel so interesting, not only as a novel by Aytmatov, but as a contemporary novel.

[Anninskiy] You are causing me to think the following. You are correct in saying that both Aytmatov's truth and illusion reflect the reality of contemporary man. This is probably the case. Contemporary man is essentially a pagan, both as he is represented by Aytmatov, and as he really exists. He is in essence a natural man.

[Zolotusskiy] And this contemporary man has many wounds inflicted by society.

[Anninskiy] Quite right. But he wishes to be merciful. He has no strength for this, but he wishes to be.

[Zolotusskiy] In any case, he thinks about it. This novel gives us cause to talk about life--about the condition of contemporary man, his possibilities, and his hidden and expressed wishes.

[Anninskiy] Quite right. We should thank Aytmatov for this.

[Zolotusskiy] Yes.

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CSO: 1800/138

CULTURE

TASS REPORTS OPENING OF THEATER SOCIETY CONGRESS

LD201404 Moscow TASS in English 1214 GMT 28 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow, 28 Oct (TASS)--The All-Russia Theatrical Society opened its 15th convention today to discuss the state of affairs in the drama companies of the Russian Federation and measures to overcome shortcomings in theatrical work.

The last such congress took place 5 years ago.

"The theaters in Russia have lately scored certain successes, first of all with plays dealing with the most urgent problems of the present day," the society's chairman, Mikhail Tsaryov, told the current convention.

He stressed the great significance of the newly-launched theatrical reform which, he said, was in line with processes under way also in all other fields of Soviet life.

"The mainstays of the reform," he said, "are the creative and economic independence of the theatrical troupes, emphasis of the end results--the plays' ideological contents and artistic merits, and the flexible organization of the theater."

"This is, however, only the first phase of work to overhaul theatrical operations," Tsaryov added. "Life itself calls for fashioning a flexible system of theaters of different kinds, which will increase their popularity even further."

Soviet theater people, he said, had joined in actively in the process of change and were vigorously campaigning for it.

"Everything must be done for the great power of a truthful art to be blended inextricably with the practical work of renewal in this country and our march forward," Tsaryov said.

The convention supported an idea of forming a national organization of theatrical personnel.

The All-Russia Theatrical Society maintains extensive international contacts and Tsaryov said the theatrical people should be closely involved in "a search for our common problems since the world is changing very fast."

Speaking about international issues, he pointed to the need for a new mentality that would correspond to the realities of the nuclear age.

"This is an indispensable condition for breaking out of the critical situation mankind has found itself in at the close of the 20th century," he said. "The intellectual energies of cultural personalities and their moral and artistic prestige can help bring this new way of thinking about."

The convention is being attended by Boris Yeltsin, an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU.

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CSO: 1812/15

CULTURE

EXPERIMENT IN 'NEW APPROACH' TO THEATER BEGINS IN 1987

LD302333 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 30 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow, 30 Oct (TASS)—A basically new approach to theatrical art in the USSR is envisaged by an experiment which is to start being implemented in many cities from 1987. In place of the former model, according to which virtually everything, from the number of spectators to the repertoire, was planned from above, from the Ministry of Culture, another system is being introduced: creative and economic independence and responsibility on the part of theaters. The gist of the reform which has started, which is consonant with the processes which are taking place in all spheres of life in the USSR, was discussed in Moscow by delegates to the 15th Congress of the All-RSFSR Theatrical Society.

The experiment provides us with the conditions for the independent and responsible resolution of questions relating to repertoire policy and to the bringing of plays to audiences, said Oleg Yefremov, chief director of the Moscow Arts Theater, who took part in the congress. Under the new system, everyone will be in the public eye and show what he stands for and what beliefs he professes.

One of the conditions of theatrical restructuring, the congress stressed, is a sharp rise in the level of professionalism. This applies both to theaters and managing bodies for theatrical affairs. It is obvious that the Ministry of Culture itself should be in charge of the general theatrical process, and not of individual plays. The need has arisen for the creation of a flexible system of different types of theaters, which will make it possible fully to implement directorial plans and attract to the theater new groups of spectators that hitherto have had little interest in it.

Speakers at the congress advocated a theatrical society that would express and protect the interests of art in reality, so that it would be an independent organism rather than a supplement for cultural administrative bodies, and so that it would have social rights and obligations in relation to the creative process. The delegates submitted a proposal about setting up a union of theatrical figures of the RSFSR. The congress recognized as desirable the reorganization of the All-RSFSR Theatrical Society into it. Mikhail Ulyanov, an artiste of the Moscow "Vakhtangov" Drama Theater, has been elected chairman of the board of the new union.

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CSO: 1800/132

CULTURE

PAPER CARRIES EXTRACT FROM BEK NOVEL

PM051614 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 November 1986 carries on page 4 under the heading "The New Appointment" ["Novoye Naznachenie"] a 3,400-word extract from Aleksandr Bek's novel of that title. The editorial introduction notes: "In October of this year the journal ZNAMYA began publishing the novel 'The New Appointment' by the well known Soviet prose writer Aleksandr Bek, which he completed in 1964. 'At a time when the revolutionary restructuring of the whole of society is being completed,' G. Baklanov says in his foreword to the novel, 'This book is particularly topical'." The extract shows the hero Onisimov in the mid-1950's, when he is ambassador to "a country in northern Europe," reminiscing in the company of academician Chelyshev. Onisimov, who has a portrait of Stalin above his desk, tells his companion: "His era is on the way out. You and I remember its birth. We were not its least important workers. We worked, without disgracing ourselves. Now another era is replacing it." He goes on to recall how Stalin "saved" him at the time of the "incomprehensible, terrible arrests of 1937 and 1938," when Onisimov saw Beria as a personal threat. The extract is largely devoted to Onisimov's reminiscences about those days and how he himself escaped arrest and won promotion.

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CSO: 1800/132

CULTURE

PRODUCER OF JOINT SOVIET-ITALIAN FILM INTERVIEWED

OW121101 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0410 GMT 5 Nov 86

[From the "Our Correspondents Report" program, presented by Leonid Elin]

[Excerpts] [Elin] Shooting of the film "Dark Eyes" by Italian and Soviet cinematographers began in our country at the end of the summer. The producer is Nikita Mikhalkov. The scenario has been written jointly with Aleksandr Adabashyan. We have shown a brief report on the shooting of this film in the Vremya program, and now we shall give you more details about this interesting and very unusual joint film. The shooting was done in Kostroma city streets and in the outskirts of this old Russian city, where nature, wonderful architectural buildings, and the wide river Volga make it possible to more deeply feel the atmosphere of Chekhov's works.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Nikita Sergeyevich, this is not the first time you have handled Chekhov. We naturally found it interesting when we read that the film is based on Chekhov's works. What does that mean?

[Mikhalkov] When you make a film on some classic work, I think it is not a matter of rendering the story accurately, or coming as close as possible to the original literary source. I think it is more important to try to render the spirit of the writer, feel his attitude to this or that problem, and feel the writer himself, feel the atmosphere of Chekhov's characters. I think the main thing is to show respect for the one who wrote it, respect for the one with whose feelings we became inflamed and lived when we read this or that book. The love story comes from the book "Lady with Lap Dog." As Marcello Mastroianni appears in the film, we did not want him to play a Russian, it would have been very...

[Reporter interrupts] Particularly, Gurov.

[Mikhalkov] Particularly Gurov. It would have been very strained, very difficult. Generally, when we play Americans or Americans play us, or when we play other foreigners, in one way or another, even when it is done very well, even when it is required in the play, the feeling that it is staged, it is someone playing someone else, remains.

[Reporter] Nikita Sergeyevich, how is it working out with an international company?

[Mikhalkov] You know, it is very dangerous to reveal the state you are in at any particular moment because, when everything is behind you and the film is finished, all the difficulties do not seem as great as they looked at the time. But you know, work is extremely difficult. How evident it is, now that I am working with an international group, that our work system is antiquated. How clumsy we are! The props we keep and preserve are in a most horrible state at our studio, in a most horrible state, and there is no system to their storage. I did not notice it that much when I worked with our group. It was sort of natural. As we are not using our own funds, we have to endure it. While here, work goes on all the time from morning to night, very tense work. All of a sudden, very simple details turn into huge problems.

[Reporter] I understand it is difficult to separate organization from creative work. Will you talk about creative work.

[Mikhalkov] I like the artists very much. I like very much those with whom I work.

[Mikhalkov continues] It is fortunate to work with people you like, and fortunate to do the job you like, but it is a great pity that too much time is taken in solving problems, which would be solved absolutely automatically in principle, especially now when we talk about acceleration, and try to break the barriers which prevent the maintenance of the momentum in our culture, our art, and life in general. So, for me, this is a very serious lesson, and I hope I shall draw my conclusions from it. [end recording]

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CSO: 1800/138

CULTURE

'WESTERN STYLE' TURKMEN FILMS LACK NATIONAL TRADITIONS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Khodzhakuli Narliyev, Movie Producer, winner of the State Prize of the USSR and Turkmen SSR imeni Makhtumkuli: "Tell Others What You've Seen: Notes of a Film Producer"]

[Text] Anyone who has been in Turkmenia knows the remarkable custom associated with greeting in our land. Having exchanged the traditional "Salam!", my countrymen move on to a centuries-old ritual of leisurely questioning. With winning sincerity, they show an interest in the health of the older and younger members of your family, and inquire about family news. They are not satisfied until they have gotten to the poultry, camels and horses.

This tradition has been handed down from long ago, when the rare meeting of people living amidst the sands hundreds of kilometers from each other was truly a holiday of human communication.

Why, having decided to speak about what bothers me in today's cinematography, have I started with this tradition, dear to my heart, of the Turkmen people? I can see in this tradition, like the sun in a drop of water, the truest essence of the process of interaction and mutual enrichment among the fraternal cultures of our Soviet multinational society.

I can say with confidence that nowhere is there such considerate treatment of the national cultures of other peoples, as there is here; no where is there such close concord. In this area, we have acquired experience of the richest kind. Nevertheless it would be premature to consider that our art is fulfilling its mission to facilitate the international rapprochement among Soviet peoples to the fullest extent.

It disturbs me that today we have many producers and even studios who have lost their creative individuality and uniqueness, have lost the creative traditions of their land. There are more than a few films where everything occurs as if in a narrow two-dimensional plane, without reference to history, memory, or the nature of our people. Here and there, yielding to superficial effects, to the detriment of truly national film, they have switched over to putting western style detectives on the screen, creating

heroes who could almost have come from a "cowboy" movie. These films are dynamic, they contain enough chases and shooting to be attractive to a certain segment of the audience. Nevertheless, appeal to viewers, when it is acquired by means such as this, is not worth much. Even more important, there will inexorably be retribution for this neglect of the life of our people.

For the studios of our republic, the main theme must be the life of Turkmeniya, as reflected in its past, present and future. Some films succeed in showing this more, some less. But we are not about to diverge from this way, considering that all such fascinations discredit us as chroniclers of our people. This does not imply that we disdain the effort to attract an audience, quite the reverse. We must strive for a situation where it is precisely this type of film which reaches audiences of several million, makes an impression on the consciousness of our contemporaries, and has a moral influence on the social climate.

Of course, this depends on the talent of the artist. However, it also depends to no less a degree on the system within which artists do their creative work in cinematography, and on the attitude toward innovative approaches by the artist. I must confess that at times it seems to me as if the system which we have here for the time being is being used to "fine" film makers for searching [for something new] and moving away from stereotypes.

How exhausting and at times even degrading are the dozens of show-downs and allegations which cut to the quick. Let us be direct, how irritating is the petty surveillance and carping, having nothing to do with art! Or else the script is treated like Michurin's apple tree, with everyone trying to graft on his own cutting, and to root in his own solutions, or putting it more bluntly, to put words into the author's mouth which have no connection to his ideas. But if in botany the results of such operations can become an organic part of the plant, in artistic creation, the rejection of alien tissue is inescapable. The time has long come to make one point clear: only drab works without character do not lead to controversy. Talent, after all, is always on the look-out for the new, the unusual, and the new not infrequently jars the ears and stings the eyes.

I cannot recall without bitterness the time when some of the people in charge literally became indignant when they saw the sands of the desert in Turkmen films. It seemed to them to be virtually an embodiment of age-old backwardness, which, God forbid, should be "dragged out and shown on the screen." And yet the Karakum desert, in spite of efforts to exercise it from our films, occupies four fifths of the territory of Turkmeniya...

The custom of allowing only our most impressive side to be seen has led to a situation where, for decades, we have filmed the facades of the same "picturesque" buildings over and over. Only the perspective was changed. This is an example of a general tendency, characteristics of recent years, to present the desirable as if it were the actual. As a result we have

ended up virtually without reliable documentary film records of the new, and even the old, cities of our republic, and the economic assimilation of the desert. There is nothing against which we can compare the social profile of today's Turkmeniya; transformed beyond recognition once again through the fraternal international help of brother nationalities, there is nothing to leave posterity.

To some extent, all this mirrors negative tendencies and stagnant phenomena which have existed in our society. Now, after the party congress, gratifying changes, exceptionally advantageous for the artist, are becoming ever more noticeable. These provide the stimulus for moving away from clichés more boldly, and penetrating deeper into reality, sometimes interpreting its contradictory "awkward" manifestations and facets.

Speaking of the restructuring of creative thought, one must also speak about restructuring the organization of the entire film industry, where there is still no shortage of red tape, chicanery, narrow departmentalism, and outmoded ideas and methods of work. Of particular concern is the film lending service.

I won't try to pretend: currently, no matter how painful this is to admit, we have more than a few customers for low grade movies, and far from every good film made in one of our brother republics is destined to meet with good fortune in our union lending service. This is a function of the inertia of ignorance, of our audience's lack of acquaintance with national cinematography. And yet this work must be carried out, extensively and on the basis of a plan, with simultaneous tenacity and delicacy. Possible financial costs are justified by the ideological importance of this enterprise.

It is a bitter paradox: each film has consumed an enormous amount of national resources, the labor and spiritual energy of people belonging to dozens of cinematographic professions, who, by the way, studied their trade in the vuzes. And yet, the ultimate fate of a picture in the film-lending service is decided, as a rule, by people without specialized educations or creative qualities, and frequently, those who have gotten their positions by accident. It is finally time to translate discussion of the film-lending service, which everyone is sick and tired of, onto this plane -- that of work forces, and the "human factor."

Alas, we cannot count on understanding on the part of the film-lending service, its spontaneous interest in a serious and intelligent film while those who work within it are untrained individuals, remote from art, without true vocations for this exacting job. Everyone is involved in directing the film network of our republic, and I imagine not in our republic alone. Agronomers, personnel from the consumer services, and from public utilities... And how many there are who have been sent to work in film lending, after having made a mess of their work in some other field. Such practices must come to an end. The fact that film should be accessible to all as art, does not imply that film as a profession should be equally open

to all. It is time for us to finally acknowledge that the film lender acts as the artist's agent with respect to the viewer and, like every other worker on the ideological front, he must have the appropriate qualifications.

Here, I must touch on the notorious box office gross [val]. Nowadays this is what determines the performance of the film-lending service. Much has been said and written about the irrationality of this approach which manipulates and distorts a process involving spiritual influence on human beings in order to produce the right performance statistics. But in spite of all the discussion of this approach, it still remains in force.

In our republic the percentages in the plan have been met for a long time and continuously, which, in itself, is of course a good thing. What isn't so good is that these figures were based on tear-jerkers melodramas with songs, stylish interiors, and exotic views. The infatuation of the film goer, especially the rural film-goer, with such foreign productions has taken on the proportions of a natural calamity. Then again, look at the record card for a "Turkmenfilm" picture. Sad to say the percentage of viewers seeing the work of our studio in Turkmeniya is substantially lower than in other republics. Yet more than once in recent years we have returned from all-union and international film festivals with awards. For example, how must the makers, of the film "Male Education," winner for the USSR State Prize and gold medals at four international film showings, feel knowing that viewers at home in Turkmeniya haven't seen it in numbers and haven't appreciated it.

Let me say first off that the insinuations that Turkmen films are not box office material is not justified. Not long ago working with the feature film "Bastion," which the union film-lending service has classified as poor box office material, we were able to work things so that in the very sparsely populated Krasnovodsk oblast more viewers saw it in a month, then saw it in a year in the entire republic.

There is but one conclusion: laissez-faire attitudes and placid expectations that "nature will provide" must be countered with initiative and enterprise; for example, collaboration with the bureau of film propaganda, a resource as yet unutilized by the film lenders. The creative meetings they can organize with cinematographers not only attract viewers, but are also profitable. However, the film-lenders are very reluctant to participate in such contacts; evidently, wishing to spare themselves any extra trouble. It is laughable that in the course of a year the republic department of the bureau in received only one or two requests for meetings from all of Turkmeniya. What does this say about the sincerity of the film lenders when they complain that it is difficult to work with Turkmen films?

In part, their calm is understandable: the "val" system conceals all sins. It is indicative, by the way, that until recently the film-lending service representatives unanimously declared that Soviet films do not attract viewers. However, immediately after the introduction of the new system of awarding bonuses, they began to report boldly that it is these same Soviet films which represent 70-90 percent of what is ordered. I would very much like to check this arithmetic, but undoubtedly that will not be permitted.

It seems to me that we are closing our eyes to the fact that the dissemination of non-cash transfer contracts with businesses and service organizations (if we are not talking about herdsmen at outlying pastures) amounts, in essence, to payment in advance for a year's idleness on the part of the film lenders, and a guarantee of a carefree life for them.

In our republic a certain portion of the projectionists have actually been debauched by this lack of supervision and idleness. In rural areas, for example, they get full salary and work for only an hour and a half or two hours -- the length of a showing. The booths of such apologies for workers are strewn with rolls of posters and advertisements which no one will ever see and their equipment is in a terrible state.

And is our film goer comfortable in the movie theatre? Not often. The poor design and sometimes even absence of an air conditioning system has turned into a real scourge, although in Turkmeniya, where the heat lasts for half the year, this is the major determinant of comfort. And here and there in the rural movie halls there are half the number of seats needed. When people come, for example, to meet with people from the film industry everyone brings a cushion from home.

We have a saying in Turkmenia, "What you eat or drink is yours, but what you see you must pass on to others." The screen makes it possible for us to see what the eyes of thousands of movie lenses have seen in all corners of our multinational country, and of the entire world. Film, like no other art, suffuses us with "the feeling of being a single family." It is within our power to make film an even more effective general facilitator.

9285/12781

CSO: 1800/500

SOCIAL ISSUES

SOUND, VOICE ANALYSIS USED IN CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS, TRIALS

Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 15 Aug 86 p 2

[Interview with Professor Aleksandr Romanovich Shlyakhov, doctor of legal sciences and director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Legal Expertise of the USSR Ministry of Justice, by A. Vaysman under the "Science Carries Out the Search" rubric: "Information About a Crime"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Modern technological advances make it possible to discern the meaning of sound signal and speech recordings with the help of the computer. The human ear often can't perform such decoding.

It's not only criminologists who now use sound signal recordings in the interests of an inquiry; they are also admitted as material evidence in court. When necessary, so-called expert phonoscopic interpretation is carried out. I asked Professor A. R. Shlyakhov, doctor of legal sciences and director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Legal Expertise of the USSR Ministry of Justice, to speak on this subject.

[Question] Aleksandr Romanovich, we'd like to know first about the legal, procedural aspect of expert phonoscopic interpretation.

[Answer] Phonograms, which are sound signal recordings on magnetic tape or in the form of special graphics that mirror sound vibrations (oscillograms and spectrograms), are essentially the same sort of documents as photographs, letters, and formal administrative documents. Their expert interpretation and use as evidence are provided for in Articles 69, 83 and 88 of the RSFSR Criminal and Legal Code.

[Question] How is a legal phonoscopic examination carried out?

[Answer] Legal phonoscopy is a very new branch of criminal law. It has come into being for two reasons. In the first place, effective sound recording and analysis equipment has become available. Secondly, development of everyday sound recording technology has reached the point where recordings of sound signals and human speech are often the subject of investigation. They contain information about a crime--threats, blackmail, extortion or the sound of a scuffle. Often you need to know who is speaking as well as the mental and physical characteristics of the speaker and his emotional state.

For that matter, the phonogram itself, where information on criminal events is recorded, can be the object of criminal acts. It can be subject to tampering. Therefore it's necessary to establish the authenticity of the introduced tape by voice identification of the person. Moreover, the tape recorder used to make the recording is often of interest in the investigation.

We often receive very "noisy" recordings where it's quite important to distinguish the speech signal. We use various filtration techniques for this.

[Question] Please tell us about a case of such expert interpretation.

[Answer] K. appealed to the procurator with the claim that P. had made an attempt on her life. A criminal matter was instigated. P. denied his guilt and accused K. of doing this with the intention of extortion. She was demanding a large sum to withdraw her allegation. Let's make this clear right away; criminal cases of the type where K. accuses P. may not be dropped at the request of the claimant.

Not knowing this, P. tried to persuade K. to retract her allegation or at least not to discredit his testimony in court. During one of these meetings when P. was urging K. to drop the matter, it evidently occurred to her to take advantage of the situation. She announced that she would retract her allegation if he paid "compensation."

[Question] But how did the procurator get hold of this recording and how did it then come to the expert's attention?

[Answer] One day P. came to a meeting "fully armed." He carried a cassette tape recorder in his pocket camouflaged by fruits and vegetables. But he decided not to record her words in full. He didn't record that part of the conversation which contained information about the fact that he really had tried to commit a crime. In order to do this, he built a power switch for the tape recorder into the bag handle. And by turning off the switch, he stopped the recording. This "mosaic" recording was also submitted to the investigator.

So here it is on the expert's table. First of all, we established the authenticity of the recording. We used a special device, a spectroanalyzer for sound, built into a minicomputer. A specially developed program was used to analyze speech and speech pauses. We established the presence of a so-called electroacoustical montage. The experts entered the recording of the conversation directly into the computer. It revealed the presence of "bursts" from the power switch.

As a result of expert interpretation, it was established that it was really K.'s voice that P. had tried to falsify the recording. He didn't succeed in this.

12976/12947
CSO: 1830/38

SOCIAL ISSUES

AZERBAIJAN MVD ON HOUSING, PASSPORT VIOLATIONS

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 26 Sep 86 p 4

[AZERINFORM report: "In the Azerbaijan SSR MVD"]

[Text] In light of party demands to intensify the struggle with unearned income, AzSSR internal affairs organs have implemented a set of measures aimed at the exposure of people who are fraudulently evading job placement and leading a parasitic way of life, as well as those who are violating the passport system.

Quite a few spongers, passport regulations violators, and people receiving unearned income by renting apartments illegally were exposed in the course of rounds carried out jointly with deputy groups, representatives from labor collectives, and the public in the residential sector of the republic's cities and rayons. Thanks to the measures taken, nearly 3,000 people have received job placement assistance; criminal proceedings have been instituted against willful spongers, while administrative proceedings have been initiated against passport system violators. Appropriate information has been sent to party and soviet organs.

At the same time, the effectiveness of measures being carried out is still inadequate. Refusals to hire people sent by the job placement commission take place in Baku, Kirovabad, and in a number of other cities and rayons; violations of the established registration procedure persist, as do cases of illegal renting of apartments. An extremely unfavorable situation has taken shape in dormitory facilities of a number of enterprises, institutions and educational facilities; with the connivance of individual officials, there are flagrant violations of registration and subscription regulations. Some 7,000 people turned out to be registered in the Nizaminskiy and Nasiminskiy rayons alone who were not actually residents there.

The status of work to ensure strict observance of passport regulations and ways to eliminate shortcomings in this work were discussed at a conference for directors of the republic's internal affairs organs, passport organizations, and other services. D. D. Veliyev, AzSSR minister of internal affairs, and other speakers noted the necessity for strict observance of the law to maintain the passport system. Special attention was paid to encouraging more active participation by passport services workers and district police inspectors in the struggle with receipt of unearned income, parasitism, and intensification of their interaction with the community and population.

A number of both passport organizations directors and district police inspectors have been called to strict account for not properly performing the tasks assigned to them.

REGIONAL ISSUES

READER UPSET BY EMPHASIS ON RUSSIAN LANGUAGE IN LATVIA

Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian 30 Sep 86 p 4

[Text] Esteemed editorial office!

The article by Klavs Elsbergs in the 30th July issue of the PADOMJU JAUNATNE after all "gave it a push!" The article "What Is Between Us?" by P. Putnins (No 3 LITERATURA UN MAKSĻA of 1986) "touched on it even more, of course. But I do not think that it would have remained without an echo because these problems do not concern us or are of not of interest to us at all. There could be several reasons for the lack of an echo: 1) some are afraid that some kind of trouble would occur, if one were to speak frankly; 2) the majority read and concluded: yes, what else could be added here? 3) yet another part thought—what sense is there to write anything, if nothing changes in any case? More than half-a-year has already passed since the publication of the article by P. Putnins, more than 5 months since the passionate speeches of M. Kostenecka and other writers at the 9th Congress of the Union of Latvian SSR Writers, but almost nothing at all has changed! (By the way, the article by P. Putnins did not, after all, appear in the press in Russian.) Quite the reverse! From the clumsily formulated Article 27 of the recently published Latvian SSR People's Education Law one can understand that at the educational establishments where instruction does not take place in Russian "the necessary conditions are being created" for a fluent command of the native and Russian languages, whereas at the schools where instruction takes place in Russian, the pupils "according to their wishes" can learn a language of another people of the USSR. (Or perhaps this has to be understood in such a way that a child can "according to his wish" acquire in addition also, let us say, the Moldavian language? The formulation is too unclear and diffuse. If for once it is the Latvian SSR [Latvian SSR is in bold type] People's Education Law, then clearly and lucidly one should have written: "according to [their] wishes [they] can learn the Latvian language." It appears that the present formulation has been automatically copied down from the USSR People's Education Law.) Thus, in practice, the Russian language is compulsory at schools with Latvian language instruction (because there is an examination in the final form), but the Latvian language at schools in which instruction takes place in Russian, is optional!

Yes, indeed, the Soviet people have voluntarily ["voluntarily" is bold type] adopted the Russian language as a means of mutual communication of nations (for the sake of logical necessity, since most people in the Soviet Union speak it). It is of course splendid if there is a language known by and in which it is possible for representatives of many nationalities to converse; that a Latvian, Estonian, Kirghiz, Moldavian, Ukrainian does not have to ponder in which language they would understand each other, having traveled on a work mission or an excursion, let us say, to Alma-Ata, Minsk or Yerevan. But does it also mean that, for example, a Latvian at his home is compelled to speak Russian all day long--at work, in the street, in transport vehicles, at the polyclinic, at the shops, etc? [Does it mean] not an excursionist, but indeed a salesman, doctor, cobbler, housing administration worker, who lives and works in Latvia, can look arrogantly and provokingly into his eyes and say: "Ya po-latyshski ne ponimayu. Govorite po-russki!" After all, however, anyone of these persons also lives voluntarily ["voluntarily" is in bold type] in Latvia. It turns out that they are being placed in a privileged situation in relation to representatives of another nationality. Then it is not to be wondered at all that at the ill-famed mixed schools Latvian children are being called "Ganses" with contempt, and other kinds of excesses take place. Yet we pretend that there are no problems.

The impression is gained that our republic Ministry of Education acts according to the principle: "The dogs bark, but the caravan continues on its way!" Regardless of how convincingly our writers spoke at the congress of the Union of Writers, the minister of education clearly and lucidly stated: "The number of lessons in the Latvian language and literature remains as before." If as much is being said about schools with Latvian language instruction, what is the point of talking about schools with Russian language instruction! Only one thing is not clear: does the republic's Ministry of Education act like this because of too great an arbitrariness or, quite the reverse, because of too great a dependence? That the situation of teaching Latvian at schools with Russian language instruction is catastrophic is proved not only by what is seen and heard daily, but it is also confirmed, for example, by concrete conversations with my female colleagues. Two of them are preparing to study Latvian language courses this year, because it is embarrassing for them not to understand what is being said in that language. You would think that they just arrived from Novosibirsk or Murmansk? No, they were born and grew up in Latvia, having finished school here and a higher educational establishment (the Faculty of Philology of the Latvian State University)! One of them has not even heard, for example, about such a "phenomenon" as V. Purvitis [one of the most famous of Latvian painters]. You would say: "She is herself to blame!" But it is not only her, but even to a greater extent the fault of our educational system. One cannot talk about the teaching of literature at all! Even a colleague who speaks Latvian splendidly (has learned not at school--the lessons there, in her opinion, had been a real farce--but in childhood from children in the yard) was indignant about the "system" of teaching the Latvian language and literature at the Russian school. The

programs are emaciated to such an extent that she had learned about many writers after finishing school, independently taking an interest in Latvian literature. It is most strange that the situation has not changed at all since the time they attended school. You see, the son of a female colleague last year in the 6th grade did not have any Latvian language lessons at all-- there is a lack of teachers!

Of course, changes (even if these would take place) only in instruction programs and plans alone will not yet achieve anything. The attitude towards the Latvian language has to be changed. As long as there is no demand for at least the workers of the service sphere to speak compulsorily (or at least to understand) in both languages, nothing will change.

A. Apina.

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CSO: 1808/21

REGIONAL ISSUES

PRAVDA DESCRIBES FAMILY FARM SYSTEM IN ESTONIA

PM101011 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 November 1986 second edition carries on page 3, under the rubric "Agroindustrial Complex: Reconstruction in Process" and the headline "Family Livestock Unit," a 1,600-word correspondent V. Shirokov report on the operation of the family livestock unit system in the Estonian SSR. Under this system, which began almost 4 years ago, a family agrees to run a livestock unit and pledges to produce certain weight gains and milk yields, for example, in return for private-sector prices for above-plan products. The report continues: "Family livestock units have many opponents. Some claim that this is a return to the private farm system. Others that work in such teams is too hard and that it is impossible to grant them days off and vacations. Yet others fear exploitation of child labor. I asked A. Kallas, chief of the agroindustrial department of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, to comment on these arguments: "This is not a return to private farms. The level of mechanization and the resolution of social problems here are on a par with large livestock units. Otherwise people would not come into them--those times are gone. The creation of family livestock units in our republic is not an end in itself. They will not take the place of large livestock-raising complexes. But they have a right to exist as a means of obtaining additional products and utilizing the family's labor resources and buildings left behind on the edges of farms after consolidation into sovkhozes and kolkhozes. Family livestock units reduce spending on meat and milk production and permit considerable feed savings. There are already more than 90 family livestock units in the republic. The results of their work are being generalized."

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CSO: 1800/133

REGIONAL ISSUES

TV NETWORK LINKS CENTRAL ASIAN CAPITALS

PM121625 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 7 Nov 86 p 5

[Report by unnamed special correspondent: "On a New Wave"]

[Text] Tashkent--Tashkent residents can receive television broadcasts daily on Channel 5 from the capitals of the neighboring republics--Dushanbe and Frunze. This has been made possible thanks to the commissioning of a powerful new television station operating in the decimeter wave band.

"In the long run color programs will also be received from Alma-ata and Ashkhabad," M. Akhmedov, chief of an Uzbek SSR Communications Ministry Administration, said. "Talking of our plans to further open up the decimeter wave band, they are extensive. This year it is planned to commission another powerful station in Kokand, to be followed by Gulistan and other cities. It is also planned to construct low-power stations, likewise operating on decimeter waves--this is for the residents of the rural rayons of the Kara-kalpak ASSR and Fergana and Navoi Oblasts. All this will make it possible to increase the number of television viewers in the republic and practically eliminate the 'gaps' on the television broadcasting map."

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